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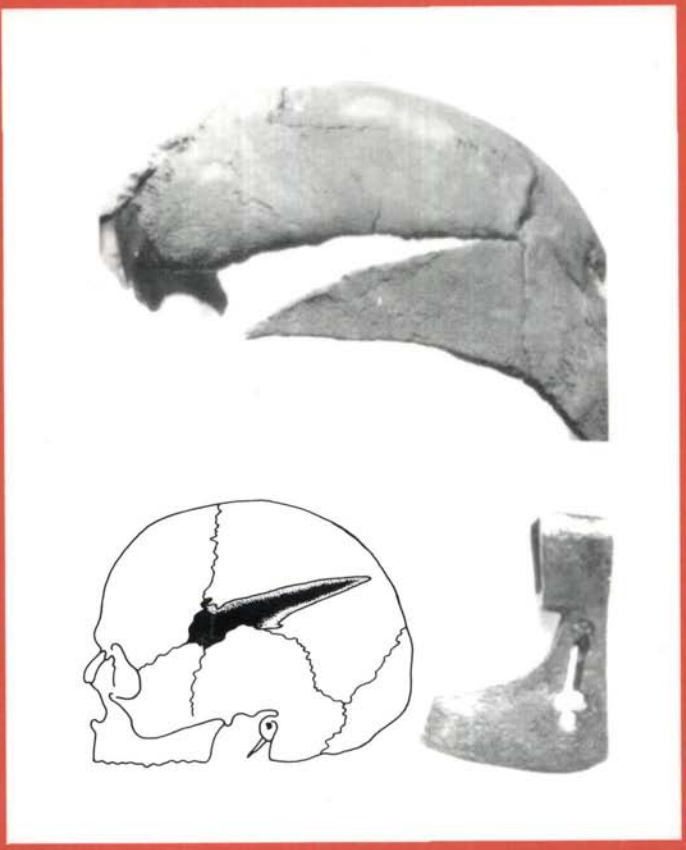

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Anthropological Investigation of Osseous Remains as a Source of Historical Information

Bogdan Luczak and Andrzej Malinowski
University of Łódź, Poland

The idea of applying anthropological methods to the solution of scientific problems in other fields of knowledge, e.g., archaeology and history, is over a hundred years old in Poland. In many cases osteological investigations have provided empirical documentation for historians' hypotheses, which had until then been based on very subjective sources such as chronicles and archives.

One of the most popular topics in this direction is the attempt to identify the remains of historical personages – monarchs and Polish princes, persons engaged in political or religious work or creators of national culture. As examples, the work of Kazimierz Wielki (Majer, 1870), Boleslaw Chrobry (Wrzosek, 1927), Kazimierz Jagiellonczyk (Glen et al., 1978) may be mentioned. Detailed anatomical and morphological studies of the remains of Mazovian princes buried in Plock Cathedral (Szafranski, 1973) as well as eminent creators, such as Juliusz Slowacki (Papillault, 1928) and Fryderyk Chopin (Dzierzykray-Rogalski et al., 1985), have also been made. Some techniques of trepanation and the survival rate of the subjects have been under consideration as well. However, except for certain medico-judicial studies, there has been little published work on injuries made by weapons in warfare, although research on this subject was published by Malinowski et al. (1981) and by Glosek (1982), Luczak (1991) and Luczak at al. (1993).

The present work refers to our earlier investigations. It differs from these in that the basis for consideration in this paper is the analysis of morphology and a study of the position of the injuries which can be seen on the skulls. We also considered the weapons characteristic of the period which caused the injuries. A part of the results are used to verify a historical hypothesis about the past – the battle origin of the osseous remains from one such site.

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Materials and Methods

The osseous material examined consists of two male skulls originating from the early medieval cemetery at Ląd, near Slupca (X-XIIth centuries), and some fragments of skulls from the region where the Grunwald battle took place in 1410. The latter were excavated from the vestry of the chapel built by the Teutonic Knights (*Deutschen Orden*) on the Grunwald Fields in 1411-1412. Badly damaged and mixed skeletal fragments of about 90 specimens lay there, moved from another place. Among them a number of skull bones were found with visible signs of injuries caused by different types of weapons. The following analysis deals with some of the more interesting cases.

Each skull or fragment of skull bone was examined for the number of injuries, and for evaluation as to whether the wounds had healed up (and therefore had been inflicted earlier) or could have been a direct cause of death. The identification of the type of weapons corresponding to the type of injury was carried out by an eminent specialist in this field – Dr. Marian Glosek from the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Science in Łódz.

Individual Characteristics of Injuries

I. Ląd near Slupca (X-XIIth centuries)

1. The skull of a male, aged 25-30. The evidence of extensive injury situated on the right parietal bone caused by a sword can be seen (Figure 1). The plane of the stroke is running along the sagittal suture up to the occipital bone. The wound was probably lethal.

2. The skull of a mature male. The injury, made with an axe, is situated on the squama of the frontal bone. It runs from the upper edge of the right orbital cavity towards the sagittal suture (Figure 2). The wound had healed.

II. Grunwald (XVth century)

1. A male aged 45-50. The occipital bone, the left temporal bone and some fragments of frontal and parietal bones are preserved. On the parietal bones an extensive, superficial wound can be seen, made with a sword. There are no signs of healing (Figures 3, 3a, 3b).

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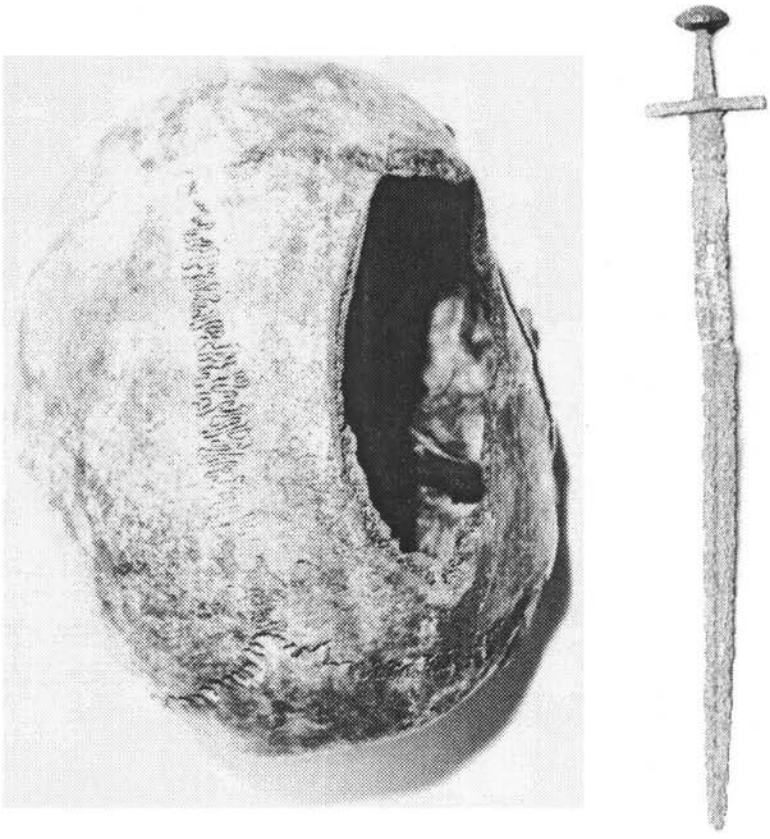

Figure 1. Lad. A skull of a male aged 25-30 with an injury struck by a sword. 1.a. A sword from the X-XIIth century.

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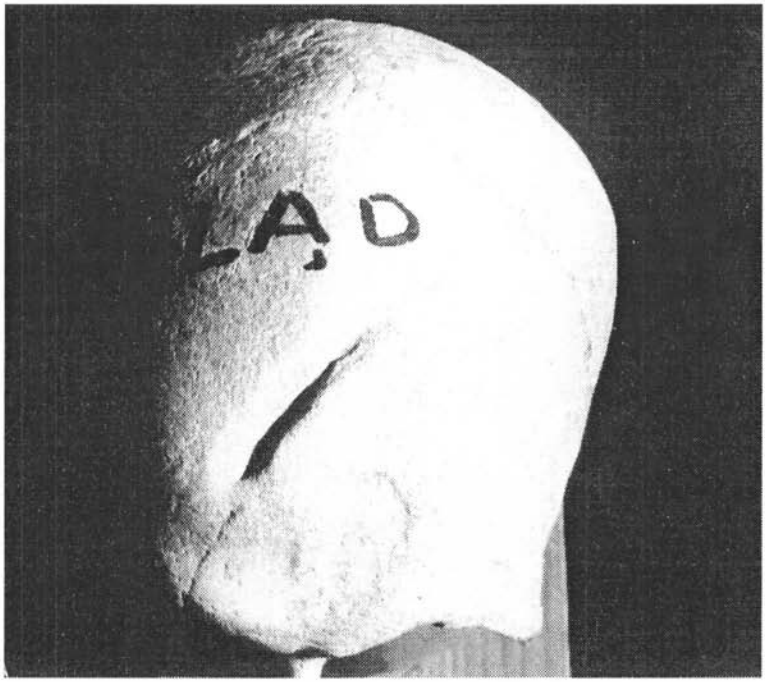

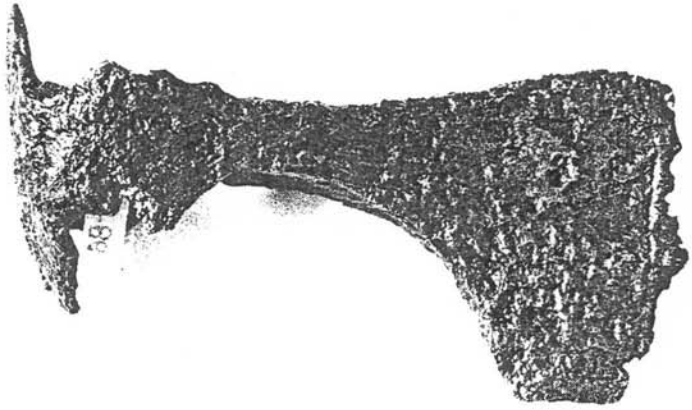

Figure 2. Lad. The skull of a mature male showing an injury made by a battle-axe. 2.a. A battle-axe from the X-XIIth century.

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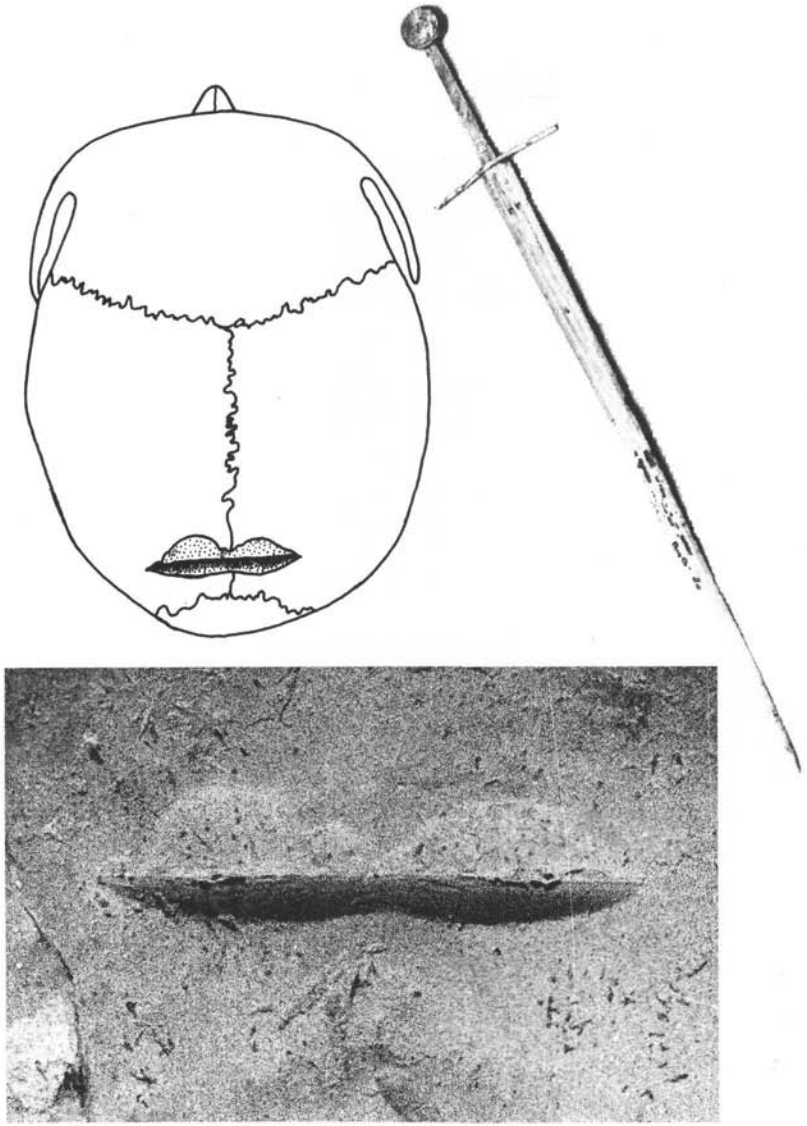

Figure 3. Grunwald. A skull fragment of a male aged 45-50, showing a superficial wound struck with a sword. 3.a. The position of the wound. 3.b. A sword from the XVth century.

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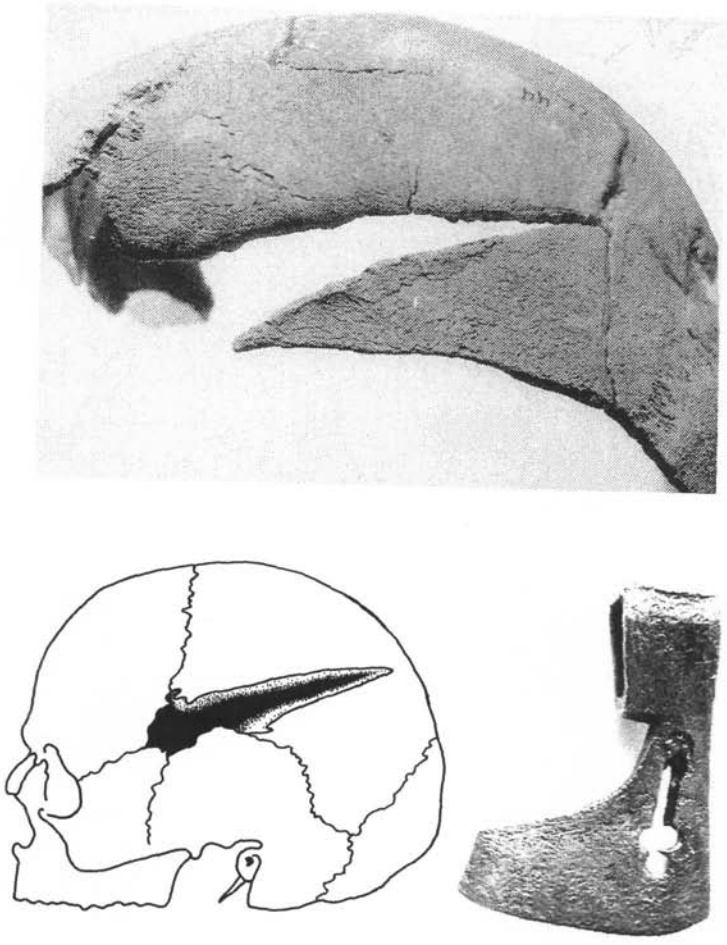

Figure 4. Grunwald. A skull fragment of a male aged 40-45 with a wound made by a battle-axe. 4.a. The position of the wound on the skull. 4.b. A battle-axe of the type used in the XVth century.

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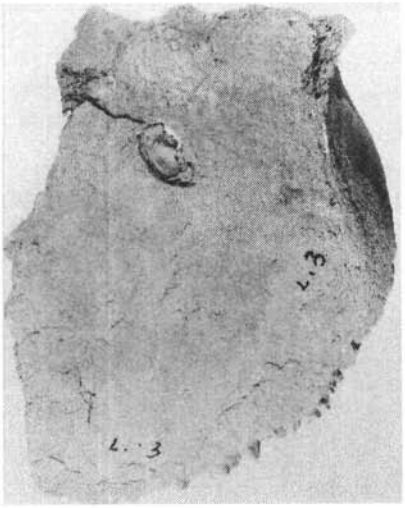

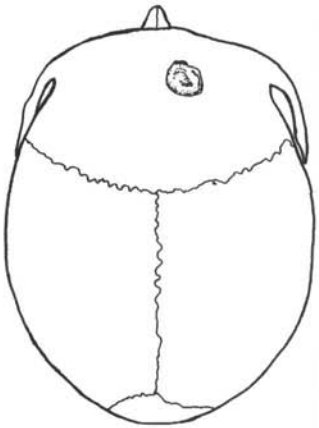

Figure 5. Grunwald. A skull fragment of a male aged 30-40 showing a wound caused by an ice-axe hammer. 5.a. The position of the wound on the skull. 5.b. An ice-axe hammer from the XVth century.

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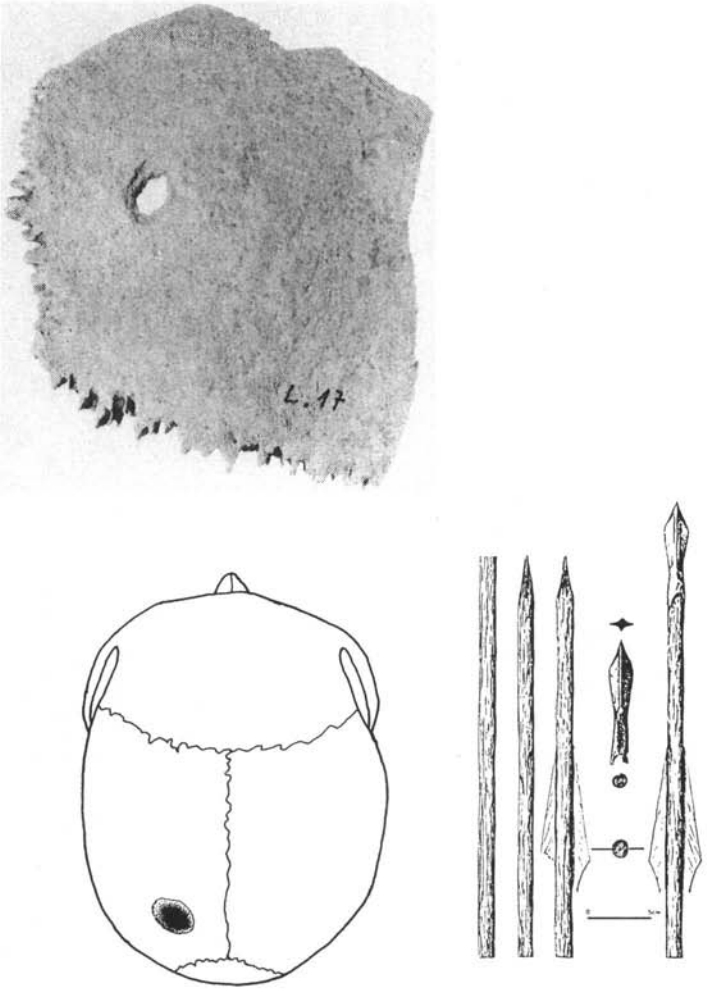

Figure 6. Grunwald. A skull fragment of a specimen aged about 20 revealing evidence of an arbalest shot wound. 6.a. The position of the wound on the skull. 6.b. Types of bolts in use in the XVth century.

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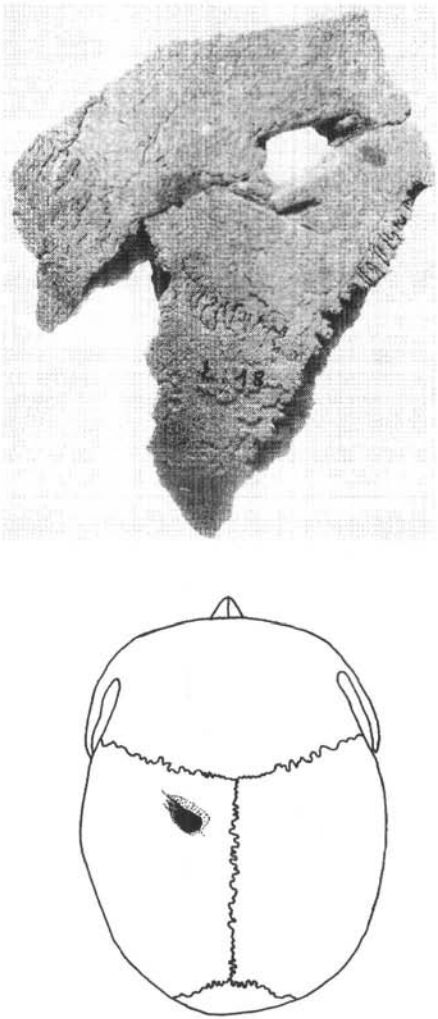

Figure 7. Grunwald. A skull fragment of a specimen aged 40-45 with a wound struck by an unidentified kind of weapon. 7.a. The position of the wound on the skull.

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2. A male 40-45 years of age. Large fragments of the frontal, parietal and occipital bones are preserved. The left parietal bone is cut almost through the whole length into two parts, probably with an axe (Figures 4, 4-a, 4b). The edges of the wound are partly healed.

3. A male aged 30-40. The right half of the frontal bone with a visible depression made with an ice-axe hammer (Figures 5, 5a, 5b). The injury showed no sign of healing, but was probably not the cause of death.

4. A presumed male, aged about 20. A part of the left parietal bone with visible evidence of an arbalest (crossbow) bolt-shot wound (Figures 6a, 6b). The signs of the healing process are not marked, and it is difficult to decide whether it could have been a direct cause of death.

5. Sex uncertain, about 40-45 years old. Only some fragments of the right and left parietal bones are preserved. A sign of a trapezial wound made with an unidentified type of weapon can be seen on the left side (Figures 7, 7a, 7b). The injury could have been lethal.

Discussion of the Results

Observations of osteal injuries resolve usually into descriptions of their morphology and evaluation as to whether they could have been a direct cause of death of a specimen. The question about the type of weapon appears usually when the materials concerned are very distant in time or are connected with the events known from historical descriptions. Both of the variants have been presented in this paper.

The signs on the two skulls from the early medieval cemetery at Lad reveal clearly that in one case an injury was caused by a sword typical for that period (Figure 1a) and was lethal. In the second case it was made with an axe (Figure 2a) and did not cause the specimen's death; this being evidenced by an advanced process of healing. The lack of evidence of any other injuries suggests that these specimens were not professional or seasoned warriors.

The remains from the Grunwald Fields have quite different specifications. It is known from historical sources that, on the 15th of July, 1410, one of the biggest battles of medieval Europe was fought here: the battle between Teutonic Knights and the forces under the command of the Polish King – Wladyslaw Jagietto. It is remarkable

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that despite prolonged field investigations carried out by archaeologists and anthropologists at the site of the battle, no material signs admittedly connected with this event (e.g. parts of armaments) were found. Nor was even a single grave with the remains of deceased warriors found. The only excavation which could be connected with the battle was at a so-called ossarium situated in the vestry of a chapel (now a national monument in the form of a permanent ruin), where some osseous remains were deposited.

Certain types of wounds situated on the skull, and their specific positions, suggest that they could have been struck during a fight, e.g. with an ice-axe hammer, an axe or an unidentified weapon, or during flight – in the latter case the wound was made with a sword.

A different explanation can be offered for one injury made with an axe, as an examination suggests that the victim may have remained alive some time after he had been hurt. In spite of this, however, his remains were also committed to the ossarium.

The circumstances under which the osseous remains of 90 specimens, most probably killed during the battle, came to be deposited in the vestry of the chapel are as mysterious as the dearth of material evidence remaining from such a large battle. The most probable interpretation of the latter is that after the battle most of the slain warriors were buried in a common grave which has not been found. The specimen injured with an axe, who seems to have remained alive for some time after he had been wounded, must have been buried in the chapel after his death.

The state of preservation of these remains and the way they were deposited in the chapel reveal that they were moved after the corpses had become skeletons – which means not sooner than 25 or even 50 years after death. Considering the situation of the burial place it can also be assumed that the remains belong to members of the Teutonic Knights (*Deutschen Orden*). Preliminary investigation of the other remains in the vestry does not contradict the interpretation presented above. (Luczak 1991)

Last of all we would like to point out again the value of interdisciplinary studies in helping to clarify events from the past.

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Essays on Germanic Religion

EDGAR C. POLOMÉ
University of Texas, Austin

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Religion and Politics: The Rise and Decline of Two Protestant Fortresses

Alex Greer

"For when they shall say PEACE and safety;
then sudden DESTRUCTION cometh upon them,"
Thessalonians 5:3

South Africa has entered its "post-apartheid" era as Nelson Mandela's Communist-allied African National Congress (ANC) heads a government of "national unity," ending 342 years of white rule. The stability of the "new South Africa" is still uncertain, and given the pressures of over-population, drought and inter-tribal animosities it could become a "second Bosnia." Nonetheless South Africa's much-praised transition, and the Israeli-Palestinian "peace" agreement, may have been models for British Prime Minister John Major's new attempt to resolve the situation in Northern Ireland (known also as Ulster), which started with the Downing Street Declaration signed by Major and Irish Prime Minister Albert Reynoldson on December 15, 1993.[1]

Prior to receiving the Nobel Peace Prize with former President F.W. de Klerk, Mandela met with the Irish Premier in Dublin and called for "talks" to end violence in the British-run province.[2] In her 1993 Christmas message, Queen Elizabeth II likened the Ulster "peace" declaration to the South African and Middle East agreements. Major and Reynolds called on the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA), and its Protestant Loyalist counterparts to disarm and join the negotiations.

Major said in November 1993 that "there is now a better opportunity for peace in Northern Ireland than in many years," despite some predictions that his initiative runs the risk of unleashing "the worst round of killings since the present troubles began in 1969." Canada's cynical columnist Gwynne Dyer had waxed satirically that Major was aiming for the 1995 Nobel Peace Prize ("just in time for

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the next British election"), as deKlerk and Mandela were sharing the 1993 Prize and as Yitzhak Rabin and Yassir Arafat being "booked for" the 1994 Prize. Dyer reasoned that Northern Ireland's analogy with South Africa and the Middle East was "false" due to its lack of a "Cold War connection"; Ulster "is like Bosnia," he said, "and the self-obsessed Protestants are like the Serbs."[3] British analyst Alan Massie, however, noted that the Ulster Protestants and South Africa's Afrikaaner whites, along with the Israeli Jews and the Serbs, each see themselves as "embattled peoples."[4]

A thesis on three of the besieged peoples was ably presented by History Professor Donald H. Akenson in his 1993 "God's Peoples: Covenant and Land in South Africa, Israel and Ulster."[5] As the title suggests, the Ulster Protestants, the Afrikaaners and the Israeli Jews all have similar Old Testament religious beliefs of being a 'chosen covenanted people,' bound by God's laws, who are to be separate from the others and who would face constant attack from external enemies. The Ulster Protestants and the Afrikaaners are Protestant Christians. To be more specific, both stem from the Calvinist or Reformed tradition. In the intense American debate on South Africa, one editorial blamed the Calvinist faiths as the cause of the "oppressive discrimination" against black Africans and Irish Catholics by their overlords:

> ... the Afrikaaners assumed political control and ruled South Africa with a messianic super-Calvinistic 'Christian' religion, reinforcing the belief

that they were 'chosen people' in the eyes of God. Northern Ireland [following Ireland's partition in 1921] was now in the hands of another super-Calvinistic 'Christian' group that believed Ulster was their land and was given to them by the Almighty.[6]

The Northern Ireland and South African cases are not entirely similar. The latter has a racially heterogeneous population of about 28.1 million in a vast area of 472,685 square miles. Even South Africa's four racial groups (European, African, Asian and mixed-race Coloured) are further divided into tribes and subtribes. Europeans number roughly 6 million, and the Afrikaaners (also known as Boers, and long dubbed the "defiant white tribe of Africa") are about 60

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percent of that number. Ulster has 1.5 million people within a compact 5,459 square miles, divided simply by the two first-world communities, that being the majority two thirds Protestant Ulster Unionists (or "Loyalists"), and the one third minority of the Roman Catholic Irish Republicans (or "Nationalists"); within Ireland as a whole the latter, not the former, is the majority. Yet both places have been dubbed by the media as bywords for terrorism, and both of the "super-Calvinists" have been pressured for changes from outside.

From the 1970s to the present anti-apartheid and pro-Irish republican activists, often working together because both have been strong within the Democratic Party, have lobbied for the use of American diplomatic pressure for changes in South Africa and Ulster. Senator Edward Kennedy (D-Mass), for example, being a noted liberal and a scion of a leading Catholic Irish-American family, has lent his support to both Irish republican and anti-apartheid causes. While Israelis can rely on support from pro-Israel lobby groups and from the American Jewish community, Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants have nothing comparable, and have only complained about such meddling. In the name of "human rights" the Carter, Reagan and Bush administrations attacked "apartheid" and funded opponents of the South African government. With the Irish-American vote in mind, and given how active this bloc is on the Northern Ireland issue[9], these administrations have made platitudes about "a just settlement" for Ulster; and in 1985 Reagan supported the Anglo-Irish Agreement with a modest aid package.

As the mid-1980s black township violence was a major media concern, the Democrats skillfully mounted their anti-South Africa crusade, which, according to British television news correspondent Graham Leach, "had more to do with American politics than with events inside South Africa." After Reagan's 1984 landslide victory, the campaign for the comprehensive sanctions bill against Pretoria was "a unifying issue" for blacks and the whole of the Democratic Party.[10] The pro-Irish republican activists linked their cause with the anti-apartheid movement. When Pretoria declared its July 1985 state of emergency, Congressman Mario Biaggi (D-NY) charged the British Foreign Office with "double standards" in condemning South Africa "while ignoring similar repressive policies that exist in Northern Ireland."[11] (Past South African counter-propaganda noted that their

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anti-terrorism laws were very similar to that in Ulster.[12] American businesses operating in South Africa and Northern Ireland were lobbied to abide by the Sullivan and McBride Codes.[13]

Democrat policy analysts have long postulated solutions for ethnic and religious-rooted conflicts, like South Africa and Northern Ireland. In an 1985 article praising the just-signed Anglo-Irish Agreement, Brian Atwood, then the Executive Director of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, (and who is now a senior official with the US Agency for International Development involved with the distribution of voter education funds in South Africa[14], lamented that the "cycles of violence" [in Northern Ireland, and in other places such as Lebanon and South Africa] are caused by "insecurity and a failure of both sides to see an opportunity and strength in the acceptance of their diversity." Atwood's solution was to create "consultative mechanisms" to reach "peace agreements," and to use "reconstruction funds" with "strong US participation."[15]

South African Professor Carl Noffke cited the Clinton administration's eagerness "to play a dominant role in conflict resolution" by increasing American diplomatic, financial and military support for the resolution of regional conflicts all in the name of "long-term stability".[16] Clinton continued the diplomatic pressure on Pretoria and maintained the remaining state and local sanctions until the ANC government came to power.[17] As revealed by the aid package announcement, Pretoria was also offered financial inducements. Secretary of State Christopher had said earlier that upon the transition to "democracy" American financial aid would be forthcoming for South Africa, and that the World Bank was already being urged "to begin planning projects" for "economic growth."[18]

Other reports indicate that the Clinton administration has used similar tactics for Northern Ireland. Clinton had promised a prominent Irish-American that his administration would "take a more active role ... to achieve a just and lasting settlement of the conflict."[19] In supporting the Downing Street Declaration, Clinton hailed John Major's "courage," and according to a story in a respected Belfast newspaper, "leading American diplomats and a powerful group of UN lawyers played a critical role in developing the peace process in Ulster" and were "closely involved in protracted negotiations with all sides for almost 12 months." Just as for South Africa, there is a

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financial "carrot" for Northern Ireland, since Clinton "has indicated that very substantial investment could be made available to counter-balance the loss of [Ulster's] 'war economy'..."[20] Clinton has also said that any failure in the Major-Reynolds initiative may cause him to appoint a "peace envoy" to Northern Ireland, which pro-republican activists have called for as far back as 1985.[21]

Peace agreements are sometimes fragile should some factions reject the settlements and even the offers of foreign aid. This has meant the proliferation of new and more active international "peacekeeping forces," such as in the former Yugoslavia and in Somalia. Noffke speculated that such a force, with American support, could be sent to a future strife-torn South Africa, and Mandela and Clinton have hinted that such a force may be indeed be needed.[22] In the 1980s, conservative journals revealed the Marxist orientation and Soviet bloc links of the ANC and IRA insurrectionaries, and British Conservative MP Andrew Hunter drew attention to links which have existed between the ANC and the IRA.[23] Future turmoil in South Africa and Ulster, which may require some form of US-supported external intervention, may not lie with the "insurrectionaries," but rather with the "reactionaries." The "super-Calvinists" were dominant in the past, but now they are the dispossessed; and for group survival right-wing Afrikaaners and Ulster Loyalists have flocked to paramilitary groups.

Given that "racism" and "sectarianism" are both considered "politically incorrect," Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants have not only been targets for political activists, but also have attracted the intense interest of journalists and academics. Akenson's "God's Peoples"[24] is one of the first studies to compare the two ultra-conservative "super-Calvinists," who are often deemed "oddballs" for the twentieth century. Whether socialist or Tory, Britain's media is usually very condescending towards them. The more distant American media usually draws parallels between them and white Protestant "nativism" in America's past. Some historians have compared Afrikaaners with the Puritans[25] and with the white southerners and their forms of racial segregation.[26]

The causes of Irish sectarianism and South African racialism have been a matter of great debate between Marxists and "liberal" historians. To Marxists, Afrikaaner Nationalism and Ulster Unionism,

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the ideologies which underpinned the apartheid and loyalist regimes, were both the products of capitalism, and were nothing more than dogmas of "class domination." (The Marxists were stronger in the debate regarding South Africa, for Akenson had written earlier that "there has yet to be a successful Marxist analysis of Irish life."[27]) Marxist analyses were shared by the ANC, the IRA, and by some overseas supporters of both groups.[28]

The "liberals" have cited the two brands of Calvinism as the main cause and sustainer of the two hard-line attitudes. Because of their geographical isolation from Europe, Afrikaaners missed the eighteenth century Enlightenment and then carried their Calvinism into this century; and because of Britain's failure to integrate Ulster fully into the United Kingdom, the Protestants have kept their outdated concepts. For liberals (which in North America and Britain may also mean "conservatives"), economic growth which could bring about a gradual process of "cultural modernity" would help end both the South African and Ulster troubles.

By using both second and first hand sources[29] and by combining history, theology and contemporary politics, this study will examine the common Calvinist threads in Afrikaaner and Ulster Protestant culture; first in their "civil religions" and historical "myths." The next section will examine their parallel institutions that existed when they held power in this century, and the liberal-conservative divisions within their respective communities since the mid-1960s leading up to their present dilemmas of being the dispossessed. The third section will be concerned with the military and paramilitary aspect, namely examining those who will "fight to the end." It is not my purpose to either defend or criticize Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants, but to illustrate the common cultures of two remnants of the Protestant Reformation struggling for survival against a hostile world.

Calvin's Legacy: Religion, History and Civil Religion

Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants have their unique brands of Calvinism, which English-speaking South African historian T. Dunbar Moodie termed a "civil religion," based upon a "sacred history" and "mythologies."[30] "Myth" is defined by Moodie and by his fellow South African Leonard Thompson[31] as being partisan interpretations of

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historical events, namely of those that uphold the "civil faith," and that are celebrated in the observance of "civil rituals." Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants have had a common belief of being a divinely chosen covenanted community brought to a frontier to endure suffering, massacres, sieges and then finally deliverance. The common roots of the two cultures (or 'gemeenskap' in Afrikaans) descends into the soil of the Protestant Reformation, which came into existence in northern Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Protestantism held to the supremacy of the Bible over church tradition, which started when German reformer Martin Luther challenged the claims of the papacy in 1517. In place of the Catholic system of works, Luther asserted that salvation had been already achieved by the works of Jesus Christ; the "saved," or the "just," received this gift from God "by faith" (Eph. 2:8,9). John Calvin, the French-Swiss reformer, further expounded upon the doctrine of grace with his concept of predestination of the elect. The sinful nature of men is such that they are at "enmity with God" (Romans 8:7); and God in his will, and not within a man's free will, has unconditionally elected some souls to salvation and others to damnation. "God having, out of his mere good pleasure, from all eternity, elected some to everlasting life...," reads the Presbyterian Westminster Shorter Catechism. This may seem like an arid point, but its effects on those who have accepted the message has been of great contention among scholars like Max Weber and R. H. Tawney.

With salvation in the hands of an almighty and sovereign God, who, therefore, are His elect? Calvin never measured election by material success, but he and his followers did advocate that election meant living a 'godly life' of piety and keeping Christian moral virtues, avoiding worldly vices. While one's election is between the believer and God, it was necessary for a believer to join a disciplined Christian community. Calvin's strict theocracy in Geneva was one such example. Respect for authority was a paramount virtue. Communicants obeyed their ministers and lay elders, and in the family wives were to obey their husbands, and children were to obey their parents, (Eph. 5:22-24, 6:1-2). Moodie described this as "collective individualism."[32] Even in this secular age, both the Afrikaaners and the Ulster Protestants are well known for their strict

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moral puritanism, and for their sabbatarian devotion to their respective churches.[33]

Calvin also made a distinction between an individual's "special call" for salvation and the "outward call" of the chosen group to fulfill God's special purposes, as "one people is peculiarly chosen while others are rejected."[34] In this area Calvin and his followers also drew heavily on the Old Testament; and in that part of the Bible the model of election is not confined to mere individuals and to church congregations, but to a chosen ethnic nation: the ancient Hebrews or Israelites. They were "a holy people" unto God and "chosen ... to be a special people ... above all people that are upon the face of the earth." (Deut. 7:6) This relationship between God and Israel was cemented by a covenant (or agreement - Deut. 7:9). Keeping the covenants meant blessings, and transgressions meant curses (Deut. 28).

Being steeped in the Old Testament, it was common for most Calvinists to identify either their church communities or their nations (if Calvinism became the state religion) with that of biblical Israel, and to apply Old Testament imagery to their own history. Calvinism developed in isolated pockets in Germany, France, Hungary and Switzerland. It also was the creed of the Scottish Covenanters, as well as English Nonconformists and Puritans, who during the Cromwellian times saw England as a "chosen nation".[35]

The two major centers of Calvinism in seventeenth century northern Europe were Scotland and the Netherlands, where the Reformation was linked to national independence. The Dutch had revolted against the yoke of Roman Catholic Spain, and likened this experience to Israel's Egyptian bondage and its subsequent exodus. When the Scots signed their 1638 National Covenant which affirmed their Calvinist creed and Presbyterian form of church government in defiance of the Crown and the High Anglican Church, they claimed that their nation was "married to God," as was Israel at Mount Sinai.

God's covenant with His nations was that they would have collective possession of a specific territory: "hearken O Israel, unto the statutes and unto the judgements, which I teach you, for to do them, that ye may live, and go in and possess the land which the Lord God of your fathers giveth you."(Deut. 4:1). After the exodus from Egypt and the sojourn in the Sinai wilderness, the Israelites were led

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to the land of Canaan (modern day Palestine), or the "Holy Land." Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants began their settlements in their "promised" lands in the seventeenth century.

After winning its independence from Spain, the Netherlands entered heavily into world trade, and under the merchant Jan Van Riebeck a colony was established on Africa's Cape of Good Hope (the site of Cape Town) in 1652 for the purpose of provisioning Dutch East India Company ships on their way to the Far East. Dutch and German company employees were allowed to settle, build farms, and become "free Burgers." Forty-five years earlier, Protestant King James I (of England) and VI (of Scotland) made provisions for the planting of Scottish and English settlers in Ireland's undeveloped northern counties, which contained large tracts of land forfeited by rebel Irish Catholic earls. The Ulster Plantation was partly a commercial venture, but also a strategic move should another rebellion by the native Catholic Irish arise.

To Ulster historian Clifford Smyth, the "story of the [Protestant] plantation of Ulster is underwritten by the hand of Almighty God."[36] Irish Nationalists have deemed the plantation of 1607 an "invasion", and "Planter Go Home" is one republican slogan. The Protestant counter-myth is that the lowland Scots were descended from Ulster's Cruthin inhabitants in the fifth century A.D., meaning that the plantation was a "homecoming".[37] It is also contended that Protestantism is the true heir of the Celtic Church of St. Patrick and St. Columba. Protestant chroniclers have emphasized that Ulster was mostly an undeveloped land of swamp, bog and forest. The settlers developed "the resources of the country by their industry and enterprise," which the Catholic "natives had failed to do..."[38] According this account:

> ...[the] settlers ... felled trees and hewed out stone for the erection of homesteads. Castles, houses, and bawns (a small walled enclosure) rose quickly all over the country ... while plough and harrow and spade transformed what had been a waste into such fields as the new inhabitants had left behind them across the Channel.[39]

The English settlers were served largely by the (Anglican) Church

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of Ireland. With the Scottish settlers came the Presbyterian Divines. Ulster church historian Finlay Holmes noted that as Calvinist doctrine and worship "gave them strength for their tasks" many congregations "could easily identify with Israel, taking possession of the promised land, threatened by the hostility of its fierce (Catholic) inhabitants."[40] Not that all of the settlers were devout, but as many Presbyterian accounts indicate, revival preaching, coupled with the harsh circumstances of the land, did much to instill the 'fear of God.'

"The history of the Afrikaaner," said South African Prime Minister D.F. Malan, "reveals a determination and definiteness of purpose which makes one feel that Afrikaanerdom is not the work of man but a creation of God."[41] An Afrikaans Pastor added that "God took the cream of the Reformation when he sent them to this Southern Outpost to found a new nation with a special calling for the latter days." The Cape colony was the very beginning. As in the Ulster Plantation, the Bible and the Reformed faith followed the settlers. Moodie wrote that:

> ... every Afrikaaner knows that Jan van Riebeck founded the first Dutch settlement in 1652, and that two hundred French Huguenots, fleeing religious persecution in their homeland, followed in 1688 ... the harsh rule of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape and the hard life on the frontier fostered a spirit of unity and independence within the pioneer settlement ... [the] Afrikaaners were Calvinists of Western European origin and a nation in their own right before the arrival of the English.[42]

From 1652 until the Cape came under British rule in 1806, many 'free burgers' migrated eastwards and northwards as 'trekboers' into the interior, and established farms on the vacant lands. Between 1835 and 1838 roughly 6,000 'trekboers,' now called 'Voortrekkers,' from the eastern frontier districts launched the much-acclaimed Great Trek further into the interior, and eventually formed the Boer republics in the Transvaal and Orange Free State. Afrikaans writers also assert that their forbearers did not dispossess the Khoisan and Bantu peoples; like Ulster's planters they settled on vacant land. Of course, black radical leaders seek to portray them as invaders, as noted in the slogan: "One Settler, One Bullet."

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Afrikaaners have likened the Great Trek to the Israelite Exodus from Egypt, for this event constitutes the central point of their civil faith, being "formal proof of God's election of the Afrikaaner people and of His special destiny for them."[43] There was discontent with the distant British administration, which failed to maintain security in the frontier districts. In desiring their own self-government, the pioneers, according to an Afrikaans writer, "felt a need to find a far country beyond the reach of the Cape government where they could live in peace and freedom."[44] The trek went out in many groups and under many leaders, and as D.F. Malan said, "the Voortrekkers left us with a greater South Africa." The Great Trek was memorialized in the Voortrekker Monument outside Pretoria: "built as a tribute" to those "who brought civilization to the interior."[45] Hence, as one Afrikaaner told an American: "I think this must be God's country, truly the Promised Land ... God gave it to us..."[46]

Max Weber speculated that Calvinists saw worldly success as a sign of election, but this is hardly the case with Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants who have viewed "adversity, privation, reversals and suffering" as "some of the best means in God's hand to form a people," as one Afrikaaner wrote.[47] The tests by fire and blood are seen as having a refining effect on the two "super-Calvinist" peoples. On the Ulster and South African frontiers the settlers had to face the elements and wild animals. Much suffering and adversity was caused by conflicts with the "nations before thee [and] greater and mightier than thou." (Deut. 7:1). Battles between the Protestants and the Catholic Irish, and between the Afrikaaners and the African tribes and the British, reinforced Old Testament images of the Israelites being afflicted and oppressed by the enemy heathen nations, like the Canaanites and the Philistines, after they settled in the promised land. Israel was reassured that if they would harken unto God's laws, and cry out to Him, He would deliver them from such affliction. "I will say of the Lord, He is my refuge and my fortress ... He shall deliver thee from the snare of the fowler ...."(Psalm 91:2-3).

The New Testament also prophesied that persecution would come to true Christian believers (Revelation 12:17, 17:6, and 18:24). Calvin warned that a true "company of believers, so long as they dwell on earth, must be 'as sheep destined for the slaughter.'"[48] Among the great Calvinist heroic prototypes are the exiled and persecuted

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French Huguenots. In search of religious freedom, thousands of Huguenots ventured to many new lands, which included Ireland and the Cape Colony, where they assimilated into the Dutch and Anglo-Scottish cultures. Yet the memories of hardships in France were retained. In 1948 a Huguenot memorial was constructed outside Franshoek, near Cape Town. One event in the Huguenot saga which is given prominence in history books published in Ulster and South Africa[49] is the bloody massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, when about 10,000 Huguenots were treacherously murdered in Paris by the Roman Catholics.

Massacre at the hands of the enemy has a significance in Ulster Protestant and Afrikaaner lore beyond just St. Bartholomew's Day. In 1641 the Irish Roman Catholics rose in revolt to "extirpate Protestantism." Many Protestants were able to take refuge behind the walled cities and towns and castles. "But outside these places, Ulster became a veritable field of blood," in the words of a Presbyterian minister. For "over the country the eye beheld towns and villages, the dwelling of the Protestant clergyman and the farmhouse of the Protestant husbandman, all in flames." Moreover, thousands of Protestants were slaughtered, and in County Tyrone the "river Blackwater ... is said to have run red with the blood of murdered Protestants."[50] In his well-read history, written in the 1880s, Rev. Hamilton described this grim episode as "really an Irish St. Bartholomew, only more terrible and inhuman." Its significance to the Protestants is that the "memory has left behind in Ulster a dread, amounting almost to terror, of being ever again placed in the power of Rome."[51]

For Afrikaaners, the ghosts of St. Bartholomew's Day came in the form of the Zulu King Dingaan. In 1838 one party of Voortrekkers migrated into Natal with the hope of settling peacefully alongside the Zulu kingdom. Under the leadership of Piet Retief, an agreement was made with Dingane allowing them to settle the land between the Tugela and Umzimvubu Rivers, provided that they help in recovering their stolen cattle from the Tlokwa chieftain Sikonyella. The Voortrekkers kept their end of the bargain and they were invited to Dingane's village, or 'kraal,' for a celebration. Dingane insisted they leave their weapons outside, and then during the feasts ordered his hidden warriors to massacre Retief and his 70 companions. This

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was followed up by further Zulu attacks on the Voortrekker camps at Bloukrans and the Bushman River. Like the Protestant accounts of the 1641 massacres, Afrikaaner historians have emphasized that many victims were women and children: "The grass was matted with the noble blood of women, girls, and tiny babes. The wagons were smashed and burned, the earth white with feathers from the burning."[52] The gates of the Voortrekker Monument contain assegaais (spears), which symbolize Dingane, "who sought to block the path of civilization."[53]

The massacres were only the first of God's trials concerning his covenanted people. The Voortrekkers wheeled their trek wagons into a circular fort known as the 'laager' to defend against the Bantu attacks. The Voortrekker Monument is surrounded by a relief of an ox wagon 'laager' to give it "symbolic protection."[54] Akenson observed that the monument "would do credit to a medieval fortress" and that "we can find [this same] outlook half a world away in the fortified homesteads" of the Ulster-Scots.[55] It was not difficult for either to apply the familiar Old Testament imagery. They were Israel crying out to their God for deliverance, while their besieging enemies were likened to the heathen Canaanites.

The central siege in Ulster Protestant 'mythology' is that of the maiden city, Londonderry (known by the Catholics as just 'Derry'). "The Walls of Derry have become proverbial, in song and story, for defensive resistance...," wrote Ulster clergyman Rev. M. Dewar; "...a garrison of determined souls, commanded by local leaders, maintained itself for over three months against an investing force, commanded by some of the more distinguished military commanders in Europe."[56] Memories of the 1641 massacres again caused the Protestants in the years 1688-1690 to seek refuge behind the walled cities when Roman Catholic King James II, having lost the English throne in the 'Glorious Revolution,' was making his last stand in Ireland against his Protestant son-in-law King William III (the Dutch Prince of Orange).

Naturally, the Protestant settlers declared their support for William, but James' Catholic armies (namely the 'Redshanks') besieged the Protestant city of Derry, which was strategically located. While many citizens of the maiden city were debating, a group of twelve apprentice boys seized the initiative and closed the gates of the

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city, pointed a cannon in the direction of the Catholic army, and hollered a battle slogan which is still used in Northern Ireland: "No Surrender!" With the example of the apprentice boys, other leaders such as Colonel Mitchelburne (who confronted the treasonous Colonel Lundy) and Rev. Walker emerged to inspire the besieged 30,000 Protestants to hold out until relief came from English ships. Rev. Walker, a Presbyterian divine, after reading Psalm 37 with its message to "Fret not thyself because of evildoers ... [but] Trust in the Lord," then "went out and exhorted the defenders to hold on and not surrender."[57] Before the relief came, starvation and disease claimed the lives of 10,000. Londonderry's citizens were all mobilized; even the women "rendered excellent service carrying bread, drink and ammunition."[58] The siege lasted from December 7, 1688 until August 1, 1689, when the 'Redshanks' marched off after realizing the futility of their siege.

In the end, William of Orange triumphed following the decisive battle at the Boyne River. According to Ulster Protestant historians, the successful defense of Derry and another fortified town of Enniskillen, Ireland's "North West Frontier" was held securely for the Protestant cause, paving the way for the Boyne victory. The original walled city of modern Londonderry has been decorated with memorial plaques and statues dedicated to the heroes of the siege, and is as sacred to the Ulster Protestant as the Voortrekker Monument is to the Afrikaaner. Historian Lord Macaulay observed that though "five generations have since passed away ... still the Wall of Londonderry is to the Protestants of Ulster what the Trophy of Marathon was to the Greeks!"[59]

To Afrikaaners, their "Trophy of Marathon" stems from the Battle at Blood River, 16 December 1838. After the Zulu massacres, the Natal Voortrekkers found a new leader in Andries Pretorius, who according to an official Afrikaans account was "a strong leader who immediately began to reorganize and motivate the Voortrekkers."[60] Along with a commando of 530 men with 64 wagons, 500 horses and 900 oxen, Pretorius assembled at a deep ravine at the confluence of the Ncome (later named "Blood") River to battle about 15,000 Zulu warriors. Like the Londonderry Protestants, the Voortrekkers placed their faith in Almighty God, for they "saw themselves as the bearers of Christianity to the barbaric interior and believed that such a vow

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was appropriate at this time."[61] As Rev. Walker reminded the besieged of Londonderry of divine providence, so did the Voortrekker 'predikant' (minister), Sarel Cilliers.

Prior to the battle, Cilliers drew up a covenant which he read to the Voortrekkers, a covenant which is still learned by heart to most Afrikaans school children:

> ... My brethren and fellow countrymen, at this moment we stand before the holy God of heaven and earth, to make a promise, if He will be with us and protect us and deliver the enemy into our hands so that we may triumph over him, that we shall observe the day and the date as an anniversary in each year and a date as a thanksgiving like the Sabbath, in His honour; and that we shall enjoin our children that they must take part with us in this, for a remembrance even for our posterity; and if anyone sees a difficulty in this, let him return from this place. For the honour of His name shall be joyfully exalted, and to Him the fame and the honour of the victory must be given.

To the Voortrekkers, entrenched in their laager and watching the terrifying sight of the numerically vastly superior Zulu 'impis,' God did grant victory as "a miracle took place." Not one Voortrekker fell, but roughly 1,200 Zulus did, and the Zulus were even pursued by the victors. To commemorate the victory, the Voortrekkers built a Church of the Vow in Pietermartizburg, Natal. The words of the Calvinist Heidelberg Catechism appeared to ring true: "We can be patient when things go against us, [and] thankful when things go well." Afrikaans Historian Dr. C. Colyn noted that the Vow represents the "plight of a nation":

> ... a nation with its back against the wall, but with its eyes directed unswervingly towards Almighty God. The essence of the vow is thus not fear and trepidation, but unshakable belief in the God in whose hand the destinies of peoples and nations has always rested.[62]

The historical traditions or 'mythologies' of Afrikaanerdom and of Protestant Ulster evidently carry common themes. Both are

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peoples of the Reformation brought to a frontier to build a civilization. Each has suffered and persevered in the face of numerically superior enemies, but each has also been delivered from affliction and been given victory at the hand of Almighty God. This theme of Protestant frontier heroism is not solely that of the Afrikaaner and the Ulster Protestant, but is also inherent in American history. For the Londonderry siege and the Battle of Blood River can bring to mind the Battle of the Alamo in 1845. Ulster Protestant historians have noted that the Scots-Irish immigrants and their descendants formed the bulk of American frontiersmen.[63] In the contemporary media the images of the past have often been used in expressions like "circling the wagons" or "closing the gates" when commenting about the hardline attitudes of the "super-Calvinists."

For the many of the Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants of today, the images of the Williamite and Zulu wars are still of contemporary relevance, especially to the more conservative elements in each community. As many observers have said, both the Irish (Catholic as well as Protestant), and the South Africans (of all races and tribes) are "obsessed with their histories." One main reason for this is that these past events are commemorated in what Dunbar Moodie termed a "civil ritual." Constant "repetition of the civil theological themes and images on innumerable ritual occasions" did make "the emotional logic of the civil faith personal to ordinary men and women."[64]

On every December 16th, - 'Die Geloftedag,' the Day of the Vow or the Day of the Covenant, later changed to Heroes Day, long a public holiday in South Africa - Afrikaaners gathered in their churches or out into the open for services to remember and renew Cillier's Vow, with the main service being held at the Voortrekker Monument.[65] They listened to speeches, sang psalms (notably Psalms 38, 46, 118, 130 and 146) and hymns like 'Die Stem van Suid Afrika' (South Africa's second national anthem). Other such sacred days were Kruger Day on October 10th; Van Riebeeck Day on April 6th; and Republic Day on May 30th. On these occasions many participants dressed in Voortrekker pioneer customs and reenacted the events of the 1830s, as well as flew the flags of the old Boer republics. One such major event was in 1938 when the Great Trek was reenacted in celebration of its centennial.

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Similar events take place in Northern Ireland on July 12th and August 12th. The former commemorates William's victory at Boyne River, and the latter marks the end of the siege of Londonderry. Like the Afrikaaner civil ritual events, they are marked by church services with the singing of hymns, namely "O God Our Help in Ages Past" (sometimes called "Ulster's hymn"). The central events in the Ulster Protestant civil rituals are the public marches by members of the Orange Order, the Royal Black Institution and the Apprentice Boys of Derry. They wear their order regalia and march behind the Union Jack and the Ulster flag and colorful banners with pictures of William of Orange and of biblical themes, accompanied by flute, drum and accordion bands. After the marches, the faithful gather in fields and listen to patriotic speeches.

Moodie observed that the civil ritual unites Afrikaaners "in their sense of unique identity and destiny, inspiring the faithful, converting the skeptical, and ever reminding them of their sacred separation from English and black African."[66] The same analysis is equally valid for the events on the Loyalist calendar for the Ulster Protestant: ever reminding them of their sacred separation from the Catholic Irish. In recent days, with the violence, tensions and uncertainties in each country, the most conservative elements of Protestant Ulster and Afrikaanerdom use the occasions to demonstrate their determination to resist a black-run South Africa and a united Ireland. Only recently, 15,000 Afrikaaners gathered on the Day of the Covenant at the Voortrekker Monument to protest de Klerk's capitulation to the ANC and demand a separate white homeland or 'volkstaat'.

These sacred days of the Calvinists have been marked by their enemies as suitable days for terrorist attacks. The ANC launched its first sabotage campaign on 16 December 1961, and then 22 years later on the same date the ANC conducted a wave of bombings in South Africa's major cities. It was during the Apprentice Boy marches of 12 August 1969 that Catholic riots occurred in Londonderry, which spread to Belfast and started the present "troubles."

One area in which Calvin differed from Luther concerned the question of obedience to civil authority. Luther held to an interpretation of Romans 13 that civil rulers were to be given undue obedience. Taking up arms against them was seen as fighting God.

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Calvin's own polity in Geneva was very authoritarian, but he and his followers believed that a ruler's legitimacy was determined by the extent to which the ruler governed in accordance with the will of God. When rulers did not govern by God's laws, obedience was no longer due, and Calvin wrote that "We ought, rather, utterly to defy them."[67] In citing the Old Testament example of David resisting King Saul, and the New Testament injunction to "obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29), French Huguenots, Scots Covenanters and English Roundheads took up arms against those they saw as "unjust rulers." In the nineteenth century, it was the challenge from "unjust rulers", whether British Imperialists or Irish Catholic Nationalists, that gave justification to Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants to take up arms for collective defense.

In the 1850s, Britain recognized the independence of the Afrikaaner republics in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Both of these republics were created by the Voortrekkers after they left British-annexed Natal. The First Anglo-Boer War of 1879 to 1881 resulted from an ill-fated attempt of the British to annex the Transvaal. Boer commandos defeated the British and preserved their independence for the time being, a remarkable victory which was again seen as an act of God. The highly religious President Paul Kruger attributed the British occupation to God's chastisement for the Afrikaaner's failure to keep Die Geloftedag, and he urged his compatriots to honor the Vow.

Kruger maintained his republic's independence until the Second Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. In the 1890s there was tension between the Boer republic and the Empire over the status of the largely British "outlanders" who had migrated into the Transvaal to work in the gold mining industries. Officially, Britain's concern was a demand for voting rights for the "outlanders," but many Afrikaaners knew better. British imperialism was allied with mining capitalism[68], and hence it was "our country you want," as Kruger said to British High Commissioner Lord Alfred Milner.

After a highly gallant and talented war against the overwhelming might of the British military, the Boer republics were obliged to surrender in 1902, but their brave resistance to the British regular troops was legendary. The Voortrekkers had earlier created a citizens' militia, known as the commando, and it was these poorly

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armed civilian militia or commando groups, under the leadership of men like Generals C.R. De Wet and Koos De La Rey, who took on the defense of their country against one of the most modern armies of the day. The Boer commandos numbered roughly 60,000, but they tied up about 450,000 British soldiers. To deny the commandos their means of support, the British commander-in-chief Lord Kitchener resorted to a 'scorched earth' policy; Boer farms and homesteads were set ablaze and Boer women and children were interned in concentration camps, where about 26,000 lost their lives to disease. The memory of these events drew the nation even closer together, and even in defeat the resistance shown by the commandos served to further the ideal of heroism in the defence of one's people.

It is interesting to note a recent editorial on South Africa in a Belfast Protestant monthly that paid tribute to the bravery and patriotism of the Boer commandos of the Second Boer War:

> Many Ulstermen fought with Irish regiments in the Boer War and the vast majority of them testified to the bravery, the courage and the kindness of the Boers.
>
> Although enemies during the war, the Boers were a fair and honourable foe, and they were fighting for what they considered to be their just cause - the existence of a white Afrikaaner Protestant race in the great nation of South Africa.[69]

Many of these Ulster Boer War veterans would find themselves, ten years after the Peace of Vereeniging, forming their own civilian "commando" organization, the first Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF).[70] The event was the third Home Rule Crisis. The Catholic Irish had become more conscious of their own desire for self-rule as a result of the nineteenth century Gaelic cultural revival and of revival of their religion accompanying the spiritual renewal within their church. Socioeconomic grievances were evident in largely Catholic southern Ireland, but the northern Protestants saw the demands of the Irish Nationalist Party for an all-Ireland home rule parliament in time-honored terms as a "Popish plot." A slogan emerged: "Home rule is Rome rule." The British Liberal Party depended on Irish Nationalist support and was thus prepared to grant Ireland a home rule parliament even at the expense of Ulster Unionist concerns. The first

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two attempts to grant home rule to Ireland failed due to Tory opposition in the House of Lords, but in 1912 the Asquith Liberals were in a firm position to grant Ireland home rule.

Under the leadership of men like the Dublin lawyer Sir Edward Carson and Sir James Craig (later Lord Craigavon and Prime Minister of Northern Ireland), 471,000 Ulster Unionists signed Ulster's Solemn League and Covenant. It was based on the Solemn League and Covenant signed by the Scottish and English parliamentarians in the 1640s, but it also reads like Cilliers' Covenant at Blood River:

> Being convinced in our consciences that Home Rule would be disastrous to the material well-being of Ulster as well as of the whole of Ireland, subversive of our civil and religious freedom, destructive of our citizenship and perilous to the unity of the Empire, we, whose names are underwritten, men of Ulster, loyal subjects of His Gracious Majesty King George V., humbly relying on the God whom our fathers in days of stress and trial confidently trusted, do hereby pledge ourselves in solemn covenant throughout this our time of threatened calamity to stand by one another in defending ourselves and children our cherished position of equal citizenship in the United Kingdom and in using all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland.
>
> And in the event of such a Parliament being forced upon us we further solemnly and mutually pledge ourselves to refuse to recognize its authority. In sure confidence that God will defend the right we hereto subscribe our names.

This was the charter document of the original UVF (whose motto was "For God and Ulster") which was led by former British Army officers, and whose numbers grew to 100,000 men. Like the Boer republics, the UVF turned to Imperial Germany for its weapons, which were smuggled into Ulster in April 1914. The UVF stood ready to defend Ulster from either the Irish Nationalists or a "traitor" British government, and the British soldiers at Curragh Barracks, outside Dublin, refused to accept orders to march on Belfast to put

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down the UVF. In the First World War the UVF became the 36th Ulster Division, and its heroism at the Battle of the Somme became another aspect of Loyalist lore.

Along with Boyne River and Blood River, the memories of the UVF and the commandos are usually invoked not only by the conservative "super-Calvinist" politicians and clergy but also by the more violent paramilitary groups. Regardless of how religiously devout the individual Afrikaaner and/or Ulster Protestant is, the sacred history at least constitutes images of their constant fight for their community's collective freedom and survival. Afrikaans journalist Sabbie DuPlooy wrote that he often tells his family about "how a nation lost its freedom to British power-hungry imperialists ... My country and people were ruined ... and I will do everything I can to prevent it from happening again." Robert Bradley, an Ulster civil servant, likewise commented about the 1912-1914 crisis in that "we are in real danger of reliving the same crisis again."

Historian Henry Tudor found that "a myth" is always a "practical view" of day-to-day existence. People believe in political "myths" not "because they make sense of men's present experience."[71] In contemporary South African and Ulster politics, Tudor's observation is more than valid. IRA and ANC terrorism, the distorted media coverage, and hostility from external powers who have demanded that the "super-Calvinists" capitulate have done much to make relevant the histories of Boyne River in 1690, Blood River in 1838, the 1899-1902 War and the 1912-1914 crisis.

The Covenants in Contemporary Politics:
Achievement and Decline

Leonard Thompson, the dean of liberal South African historians, concluded that "myths are an ineluctable part of human culture ... sets of political myths legitimize or discredit political systems ..."[72] So it is with the case of Afrikaaner and Ulster Protestant sacred history. Essentially there was a common theme the 'myths' illustrate: the need to maintain their respective ways of life, which would be threatened should Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants lose control over their own affairs by being submerged under the rule of the black "majority," on the one hand, or the rule of a Catholic "majority" in a united Catholic Ireland, on the other. Historian R.K. Minogue[73] observed that

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Nationalism has three periods: stirrings, struggle and consolidation. The late nineteenth century was the period of "stirring" for both civil faiths. The Irish Protestant and Afrikaans Reformed churches went through spiritual renewals in this period. The churches, as well as the separate schools and the cultural societies, taught and propagated the sacred history. In each example, the ideologies of Afrikaaner Nationalism and Ulster Unionism, building on the image of the laager on the one hand and the embattled walled city on the other emerged because of the external threats of British Imperialism and Catholic Irish Nationalism, respectively.

The struggle and consolidation periods occurred in this century with the establishments of the South African and Northern Ireland states, both granted by British legal fiat. In 1910, the four provinces of the Cape, Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal were combined as the self-governing Union of South Africa, with capitals at Cape Town, Pretoria and Bloemfontein. Ireland was partitioned in 1921 in an effort to settle the conflicting demands of Ulster Unionists and Irish Nationalists. The latter formed the Irish Free State in Dublin, and the former were granted their own "Protestant Parliament for a Protestant people" at Stormont (just outside Belfast), with certain devolved powers but still subordinate to London. Devolution was not the original Unionist wish, but in time the Unionists accepted it. With the two-thirds pro-British Protestant majority voting for the Ulster Unionist Party, that party always formed the government.

London did not want to have the strategically important mineral-rich Union of South Africa fall into the control of Afrikaaners who would revive the Boer republican tradition in the new state. Until 1948, South African governments had been coalitions of moderate Afrikaaners and English-speakers. Due to many local and external factors, Afrikaaner Nationalist sentiment grew, and eventually the Afrikaaner National Party (NP)[74] won the 1948 election. With most Afrikaaners voting NP, and the Afrikaaners comprising roughly 60 percent of the white population, the NP kept its hold on power until 1994, with South Africa declaring itself a Republic in 1961.

White supremacy and segregation had been part of South African life before 1948, but the Afrikaaners saw seeds of future conflict in

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a multi-racial society. They realized that if they were to survive as a white nation the only solution was to move from white domination ('baaskap') to a true geographical separation of the races, as represented by the term 'apartheid.' The grand apartheid plan first sought by the National Party governments was to divide the land into black and white states, with the differing black peoples having their own states or 'Bantustans,' and to build the white republic into a viable white homeland with little or no dependence on black labor.

It is not my purpose to judge the merits or demerits of this plan, but to point out that the justification advanced for the plan was the survival of the "white race and Christian civilization" in southern Africa, a point commonly made by Prime Ministers D.F. Malan, J.G. Strydom and H.F. Verwoerd. As one cabinet minister told Parliament, "separate development" rested on three principles:

> The first is that God has given a divine task and calling to every People in the world ... The second is that every [ethnic] People in the world ... has an inherent right to live and to develop ... In the third place, it is our deep conviction that ... every ethnic group can best be developed within its own national community. Only then will the other groups feel they are not being endangered ... [75]

Ryan Malan, son the first NP Prime Minister, recalled his father's arguments on the "failure of the integrationist solution everywhere from Ireland to Armenia." [76] Conversely, the Protestant Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) ran Northern Ireland, according to Catholic socialist Lord Gerry Fitt, with "a South African mentality."[77] Neither the Catholic Church nor the Irish Nationalist Party accepted the Northern Ireland state, for their loyalty was to the Irish Free State in Dublin, which claimed all of Ireland. One Unionist Prime Minister Sir Basil Brooke (later Lord Brookeborough) early complained that "Catholics are out to destroy Ulster with all their might and power."[78] Until the 1970s, neither of the "super-Calvinists" were prepared to compromise and enter into any kind of "power-sharing," which both contended would only result in disaster.

Fortified by their fundamentalist Calvinist outlook, the Afrikaaner Nationalists and Ulster Unionists shared a common

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philosophical rejection of the concept of the absolute righteousness of the "majority vote" (which they both attributed to the anti-Christian French Revolution). The "Nats" were attacked for not giving the non-whites the vote. This was explained in a 1951 Dutch Reformed Church booklet stating that the franchise is a "trust, granted only those who have arrived at maturity and can use it with responsibility towards God"; the African was not qualified to exercise democracy, it being a European-made institution.[79] Irish republicans have attacked the partition as anti-democratic since it was "contrary to the will of the Irish people." Clifford Smyth judged this as another idea rooted in the French revolution, alien to the Protestant British concept of democracy which emphasized personal responsibility towards God.[80]

Both nations, the Protestants of Ulster and the Afrikaaner whites of South Africa, rejected claims in the media and from the radical left that the African blacks were materially worse off than whites due to the "oppression" and the "structural injustice" of "apartheid," or that the Catholics were materially worse off than the Protestants due to "discrimination." The response to the accusations concerning the former has been that aside from the discriminatory laws the Africans have only recently been exposed to the blessings of European civilization, and could not be expected to come up to European standards overnight. Concerning the case of Catholics in Ulster, there is some acknowledgment about "discrimination," but the Catholics are reported to have different social values, and vices such as alcoholism, gambling, etc. To Calvinists, material blessings are one of the fruits of righteousness (Deut. 28), but many Ulster Protestants and Afrikaaners pointed to poverty within their own communities, and pointed out that there were many well-off non-whites and Catholics. Both "super-Calvinists" claimed that the maintenance of their respective "Protestant ways of life" had been beneficial to those outside their own community. Comparisons were made between Northern Irish prosperity and Southern Irish poverty, and between white-ruled South African stability and prosperity compared with black-ruled sub-Saharan Africa's poverty and instability.

Resisting external challenges was one concern of the Ulster Protestant and Afrikaaner leadership. The other was in maintaining political and ideological unity among the different regional and

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socioeconomic segments contained within their respective countries. Northern Ireland and South Africa are both modern industrial states; hence, both the urbanized Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants were divided between the white collar professional and business classes and the blue collar working classes, along with the more traditional rural farming populations. Coincidentally, all of the "super-Calvinists" met their challenges by building their respective 'gemeenskaps' around a triangular network of three major institutions: the Calvinist churches, the established political party, and the fraternal and related cultural societies. Each of these institutions exists as a separate entity, but there has been an interlocking relationship among them.

Both Northern Ireland and South Africa have long separated any legal tie between the churches and the state, but in each society the churches have played, and still play, major roles in the lives of the parishioners. Roughly 99 percent of all Afrikaaners belong to one of three Reformed churches, with 85 percent belonging to one major denomination in particular, the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk van Suid Afrika (NGK – the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa). The other denominations are the 'Hervormde Kerk' (NHK) and the Reformed Church of South Africa (GKSA), also called the 'dopperkerk.' Roughly 85 percent of Ulster Protestants belong to one of two churches: the (Anglican) Church of Ireland[81] and the Presbyterian Church in Ireland (PCI). These churches have each subscribed to Calvinist creeds like the Canons of Dort (Dutch Reformed), the Westminster Confession (Presbyterian), and the Thirty-Nine Articles (Anglican). Until recent times, the churches have sanctioned the respective "civil faiths."

Ulster historian Peter Brooke said that political parties also "act as guarantors of national unity in the way that the church in more primitive times used to do ..."[82] Actually, within Afrikaanerdom and Protestant Ulster both church and party have shared this role, with the National Party and the Ulster Unionist Party acting as the secular arms of the civil faiths. The NGK has been cynically called "the NP at prayer," and Ulster's Protestant churches have been referred to as the "UUP at prayer." In the politics of both South Africa and Ulster, clergymen play and have long played prominent roles. Unlike most parties in western democracies, the NP and UUP were not initially organized as parties of socioeconomic class or of regions. Their

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purpose was to unite Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants irrespective of class or region. As their critics said, they were "parties of tribal allegiance." One common concern of both the NP and the UUP during the 1930s was in keeping their respective working classes (based in the mining industries of the Witwatersrand and the shipbuilding industries of greater Belfast) from being enticed away by the socialist Labour Parties. To this end, the UUP established the Unionist Labor Association, and the NP established Afrikaaner trade union groups.

Perhaps the major glue which held together the church, party and other organizations was the controversial semi-secret fraternal societies. Secret orders are often of more interest to journalists and polemicists than to dispassionate scholars. By their opponents, the Loyal Orange Order (LOO) and the Afrikaaner Broederbond (AB) have been painted as sinister cloak and dagger outfits monolithically conspiring to keep political and economic power in the hands of the elect nation (and for themselves), or at least to maintain 'jobs for pals.' Irish socialist Liam de Poar commented: "The Unionist Party machinery was perfected by building up the Orange Institute and integrating it fully into the party and into the state ..."[83] According to liberal South African journalists Ivor Wilkins and Hans Strydom in 1978: "The South African Government today is the Broederbond and the Broederbond is the Government."[84]

While the UUP and the LOO, and likewise the NP and the AB, are separate entities, they have been closely intertwined. From D.F. Malan to F.W. de Klerk, every NP Prime Minister/State President of South Africa has been a Broeder and often a member of the AB's top body, the Executive Council. Likewise, every UUP leader, from the first Prime Minister Sir James Craig (later Lord Craigavon) to the present party leader at Westminster James Molyneaux, has been an Orangeman, and often a member of LOO's top body the Grand Lodge. Most cabinet ministers have also been members of those bodies, and often the ties between fraternity and party could also be found down to local party associations.

To their protagonists, the Orangemen and the Broeders have served as respected church and community leaders who have strived to maintain their nation's integrity, let alone their existence, in a hostile world. It should be noted that the AB has been more

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secretive and more restrictive in its membership, which has been by invitation only. (Recently the AB changed its name to the Afrikaanerbond and is reportedly opening its ranks to non-Afrikaaners.) Both organizations have required from their members, who have had to be Protestant males, commitment by pledge to their respective civil faiths, and have administered the public civil rituals.

Spokesmen for the two fraternities have emphasized that their respective organization's existence was for their nation's survival. Dr. Piet Meyer, AB Chairman in 1969, told a gathering:

> What I have to say about brotherhood in the next fifty years rests on the unambiguous premise that the future of white and non-white nations of our country depends primarily on ensuring the future of the Afrikaaner nation as an independent Christian nation at the southern tip of Africa ... If we do not accept this as fundamental, then we forfeit the Afrikaaner Broederbond's right to exist.[85]

Rev. Dr. M. W. Dewar, an Orange chaplain, wrote in 1958:

> ... the Orange Institution is a religious Order, with its foundations firmly laid in the history of Protestantism in general and of Ulster Protestantism in particular. But in Northern Ireland, for reasons that have been made clear, it is almost impossible to separate 'religion' from 'politics.' That the overwhelming majority in the Irish Republic are Roman Catholics, and opposed to any connection with Great Britain, makes it inevitable that the overwhelming majority in Northern Ireland ... must associate, else they fall, one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle.[86]

By the 1960s, both South Africa and Northern Ireland were effectively "one-party states," since the NP and UUP were "well-oiled machines." Their strength did not rest solely on the supposed unseen power of the AB and the LOO, but upon Afrikaaner and Ulster Protestant "tribal" unity. When each "tribe" stood behind its "chiefs" at the ballot box, they could hardly expect defeat. The only threats to the status quo lay in attempts at violent overthrow such as the IRA's 1950s border campaign, and the revolutionary activities of the

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ANC and the more radical Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) in the early 1960s. Both uprisings were met with firm resolve, with the Stormont and Pretoria using their police forces and emergency legislation. After the insurrections ended, both the Ulster and South African economies enjoyed an economic boom period for which the politicians could claim the credit.

In the late 1960s, however, a marked change came about in both the NP and UUP leadership. Attempting to accommodate external pressures and internal demands, they developed a "business approach" to the concept of "reform" in mind. Within the two communities, serious political and theological divisions developed between the outward-looking liberals (or "verligtes" – Afrikaans for "enlightened") and the parochial-minded conservatives (or "verkramptes" - Afrikaans for "narrow"). The former was found in the urban business and professional middle classes, and the latter in the urban working classes and in the rural populace of each community. This happened amid the extremes of renewed political terrorism in the 1970s and 1980s, when the "super-Calvinists" came under increasing pressure from terrorists, overseas powers and the world press.

At present, neither the Afrikaaners nor the Ulster Protestants could be termed 'staatsvolk,' save the fact that they still staff their respective country's civil service and security forces. Neither groups hold the kind of exclusive decision-making power they once held. At this writing, the NP has handed over political power to the ANC. In 1972, the "Protestant Parliament" at Stormont was suspended by the British government and London assumed "temporary" direct rule over the province. There was a parallel in the way in which the "super-Calvinists" were forced to abrogate their "privileged positions". Local differences aside, both the NP and UUP elites brought in reforms in response to violence, a persistently bad press, and external and internal political and commercial pressures.

South Africa's plan for a group of racially segregated self-ruling ethnic states faced two serious challenges. The industrial magnates controlling South Africa's rapidly growing industrial economy wanted to retain black labor to make up for the short supply of white workers. Harry Oppenheimer, the former Chairman of the giant mining-finance house, the Anglo-American Corporation, and the personification of South Africa's big business, once said that the old

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migrant labor system was "less and less appropriate from an economic point of view" and that South Africa's economy needed an indigenous black labor force involved in a "capital-intensive, high-wage high-productivity system which characterizes the advanced industrialized countries."[87] Such a goal meant a permanent status for the urban African and the need to accommodate them into "white" South Africa, which ran directly counter to the grand apartheid plan.

South Africa's other challenge was from the external western powers led by politicians hostile to racial segregation, especially after the publicized shooting in 1960 of black demonstrators by police at Sharpeville. A flight of foreign capital caused a temporary economic crisis about which "The Economist" editorialized: "South Africa cannot hope to attract foreign capital on realistic terms until it has developed a policy of racial coexistence that is acceptable to the outside world."[88] The economy rebounded, and Prime Minister Verwoerd, a former sociology professor, attempted to keep economic growth within his plan for the complete territorial separation of the races. One critic branded the learned Dr. Verwoerd a "theological fanatic," whereas to his supporters the very religious Verwoerd was an "intellectual giant" and the "last principled and honourable politician." In 1966 Verwoerd was stabbed to death in the Parliament buildings in Cape Town, and according to conservative Afrikaaners: "Apartheid died with Verwoerd."[89]

Verwoerd's successor John Vorster, a lawyer and former Justice Minister, was concerned about the country's growing isolation and decided to compromise on the apartheid laws in an effort to accommodate both the internal and external political and economic forces. South African-born, Oxford Political Science Fellow, R.W. Johnson, described Vorster as a "conservative pragmatist ... only too happy to preside over his country's headlong industrialization on a swelling tide of foreign investment."[90] To those on the Afrikaans right: "Vorster was a charlatan" who "started making the NP subservient to big business and the US State Department," for the NP was "not being held together by principle anymore." Vorster's critics, right and left, agreed that the new pragmatic approach to apartheid would further the economy's dependence on black labor and would lay the groundwork for future crises which threatened Verwoerd's idea of an all-white republic. More foreign investment meant that

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South Africa would be more vulnerable to pressures from the hostile external powers.

At election time (1970, 1974 and 1977), Vorster would sound just as conservative as his right-wing opponents; but between elections Vorster would announce "reforms," largely in the area of "petty apartheid." "Hugo," a liberal Afrikaans educator, wrote that Vorster "got (reform) going, very cautiously, but was too afraid to split the NP." In June 1976, the riots in the black township of Soweto, near Johannesburg, started a new cycle of violence. The world press further painted a bad picture of South Africa, and the western powers denounced Pretoria, calling for changes and the banning of weapons exports destined for South Africa. The economy suffered from a flight of capital; and to make up for this, new foreign loans were negotiated. Vorster had many meetings with US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in which he agreed, as 'quid pro quo' over the loans, to increase pressure on the whites in Rhodesia to accept black rule. More 'petty apartheid' rules were scrapped, and multi-racial sport was introduced. The more sweeping reforms created black township councils, leasehold home rights for urban blacks, and set up the Riekert and Wiehahn Commissions, which recommended more reforms to improve the status of black industrial workers, including the legal recognition of black trade unions and the banning of "white's only" job reservations in certain job categories.

Of course, Pretoria's opponents branded the reforms as "cosmetic," and the world press concentrated its attention on the use of police to quell militant disturbances. The Afrikaaner establishment had abandoned the Verwoerdian plan for the division of South Africa into separate black and white independent and self-ruling states, and had granted 'de facto' recognition to the permanence of the urban black, who were no longer to be regarded as 'gastarbeiters' in white industrial cities. Furthermore, there were hints about a new constitutional arrangement for the Asians and Coloureds. In 1977, the NP scored the greatest election victory in South African history, as consciousness of the world pressure caused more of the English-speaking community to rally in support of the NP. Within a year Vorster and his close colleagues were damaged by an information scandal (also known as 'Muldergate' – after Dr. C.P. Mulder, the minister responsible) when reports surfaced about

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irregularities in a covert 'slush fund' that had been created to improve South Africa's image abroad. Vorster resigned as Prime Minister to become State President, and eventually resigned even that position.

During the Vorster years, the power base of the NP changed just as the socioeconomic character of Afrikaanerdom changed. Afrikaaners were no longer just parochial farmers, miners and civil servants. By the 1970s there was a growing Afrikaans-speaking urban professional and business middle class, with a more cosmopolitan outlook. Afrikaaners were making their mark as big businessmen (a class which had previously been exclusively English-speaking) not only in the growing state-owned heavy industry 'parastatals,' but also in the private sector financial and mining/industrial conglomerates. As industrialists, they were interested in exporting and in world opinion. Graham Leach observed that Afrikaaner businessmen were "one of the greatest forces for change" and that when they talk to the politicians, the politicians "listen".[91] Hence, the NP became less and less of a "tribal" Afrikaaner party, and came to embody a partnership of 'nouveau riche' Afrikaaners and increasing numbers of English-speaking white South Africans already established in business.

Reform entered an accelerated new phase in 1978 when P.W. Botha, whose power base was in the more liberal Cape Province, became Prime Minister. As defense minister, Botha oversaw the massive buildup of the South African Defense Force (SADF) and of the mushrooming arms industry, designed to meet any threats from a communist-backed "total onslaught." Botha was known to be very intolerant toward those who did not share his views, and under his leadership more power was transferred to the State President (the office of Prime Minister was abolished) and the executive branch. Under his stern hand, a coalition of Cape liberals, English- and Afrikaans-speaking business interests, and even the defense force chiefs was brought together to forge even greater "limited but decisive" reforms. Their reasoning was that if South Africa was to face the post-Soweto "total onslaught," stem the loss of overseas business due to sanctions, end the country's international isolation, and gain better relations with Britain and America, it must, to quote Botha's words, "adapt or die."

More 'petty apartheid' regulations were scrapped, including the laws banning racially-mixed marriages. After much study by

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government-sponsored commissions, and after approval by the white electorate in a 1983 referendum, the most revolutionary change came with the 1984 constitution, which replaced the old Westminster-style parliament. The new tricameral legislature consisted of separate houses for the newly enfranchised Coloured and Asian voters, heralding an end to white rule. Each legislative house passed laws for their "own affairs." Affairs in common to all groups (or "general affairs") were dealt with in the newly formed President's Council, which was the first of a multi-racial power-sharing government. Botha initially received praise from Washington and London, although both at home and abroad his liberal and radical critics condemned the new constitution as not "going far enough" because it did not include the blacks in the central government, left the most apparent pillars of apartheid (i.e., separate residential areas and schools) intact, and did not entirely destroy white dominance.

Professor Arnheim of South Africa's University of the Witwatersrand has written in his much-quoted work, "South Africa After Vorster," that the "idyllic picture" of "harmony resulting from a policy of reform and liberalism is totally illusory ... tensions generated by group friction in multi-national, multi-racial or complex societies of any kind are such as to make conflict of one sort or another inevitable."[92] By 1985, Botha's experiment was in deep trouble when riots, school boycotts, and acts of violence blazed through the black and Coloured townships: the ANC and its allies had vowed to make the townships "ungovernable." Botha responded with a State of Emergency and with the use of the SADF to assist the over-stretched police to quell the unrest. South Africa then suffered its worst torrent of bad press, with even greater economic sanctions coming from western capitals. The economy nose-dived into a recession, and a credit crunch occurred when Chase Manhattan Bank refused to renew the loans it had made. The external powers demanded more sweeping reforms, claiming that Botha's "Rubicon" speech did not go far enough. "The Economist" declared that "South Africa is being served notice that it cannot maintain its present system of apartheid and remain a paid-up member of the international financial community."[93]

Botha achieved further piecemeal changes in his last years of power, ending the pass laws, but at the same time upholding the

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security laws. In 1989 he fell ill, and F.W. de Klerk ascended to the State Presidency. With the fall of communism in eastern Europe, the western political leaders felt free to pressure South Africa to make further revolutionary changes. The ANC, the PAC and the SACP were unbanned, coinciding with Mandela's release. This brought new cycles of violence as the ANC squared off against its main rival, the Zulu-based Inkata, but abroad the new government was praised and sanctions were eased. The last grand apartheid laws were abolished, and after a series of negotiations the NP conceded to ANC demands for an all-race election. In May 1994, de Klerk, the last white President, handed over his office to ANC leader Mandela.

Northern Ireland in the same time-period has witnessed a somewhat similar process. There were differences, of course, for the Protestants were in the majority. Although the Catholic proportion was increasing and although the Protestant nightmare of a united Ireland has not yet come about, at this writing matters are close to the negotiating table. The Ulster 'troubles' stem from events in the late 1960s when the Unionist state was confronted with both internal and external pressures. First, the Irish Catholics were becoming more assertive as their traditional sense of Irish nationalism was transformed by socialist ideologies. The other source of pressure on the Unionist establishment came from the British government, tired of attempting to combat the atrocities of the IRA. While the Protestant Unionists wished to remain a part of the United Kingdom, the Protestant Britain they had cherished was itself becoming more secular and socialist, and consequently less accommodating to their brand of "Britishness." Ulstermen who had been regarded as heroes for their loyalty to King and Country were now being portrayed as "spongers off British democracy."

Just as a new breed of the 'verligite' Afrikaaner emerged, so there also emerged the "reformist Unionist." Lord Brookeborough, the "anti-Catholic Tory bigot" (according to critics) and the "last real Protestant Premier we had" (according to his supporters), retired due to ill health. His replacement as Prime Minister was the Finance Minister Terrence O'Neill, a man who was "more English than Ulster and out of touch with Ulster Unionist opinion." O'Neill was from one of the landowning aristocratic families, and his accent revealed he was educated at Eton. He had served as a Captain in the Irish

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Guards and had had a short career in the "City" (London's Financial district). Unlike most Unionists, O'Neill was said to have "found the company of world leaders more convivial than that of his colleagues."[94]

Like the Afrikaaner 'verligites,' O'Neill and his supporters saw their mission as trying to 'modernize' the province. British sociologist Steven Bruce described the O'Neillites as "cosmopolitan, drawing their values from London and international circles than from provincial Ulster," who "could see the advantages in abandoning traditional discriminatory practices: greater international respectability and a greater ability to attract multinational capital."[95] In his first years, O'Neill's strategy was aimed at economic growth, and to this end he created a Ministry of Planning and Development, whose functions usurped those of the local councils.

Seeking to improve relations with the Roman Catholics, O'Neill was dubbed a "traitor" by conservative Protestants but "a man of destiny" by his supporters. He sought better relations with Dublin as both Irelands liberalized trade policies, and he even hosted Irish Premier Sean Lemass at Stormont. To the Irish Republican left, O'Neill's reforms were largely rhetoric, because he feared that he might split the Unionist Party if he moved too quickly. Just as Vorster ushered in reforms following the Soweto riots, it was the well-publicized riots in Londonderry (or Derry) in the autumn of 1968 that prompted O'Neill to bring in his major reforms. Many of the new breed of left-wing Catholics and even liberal Protestants joined leftist groups like the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association (NICRA) and People's Democracy (PD), who took to the streets to protest anti-Catholic discrimination (whether real or imagined). A march in Londonderry (Derry) was banned, but the marchers defied the ban and clashed with police. This event was embarrassing to the socialist government in power in Britain and it pressured Stormont for more reforms. O'Neill replaced the Unionist-run Londonderry city council with an appointed "development commission," announced a 'points for needs' system in public housing, the creation of ombudsmen to investigate complaints, and after more violence initiated an enquiry into the causes of the unrest.

Challenged by the right-wing both within and outside the UUP, O'Neill called an election. The UUP won, but O'Neill was unable to

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maintain the confidence of his party, resigned and was succeeded by his cousin James Chichester-Clark. He, too, was a member of the British upper class and made it clear that he intended to carry on with his cousin's reformist policies. In the face of continuing terrorism, responsibility for law and order was shifted from Stormont to London.

The summer of 1969 was marked by major riots in Londonderry, Belfast, and at a few other urban centers. The police were over-stretched, like South Africa's in 1985; and an appeal was made for assistance from the British Army, who now were given the dangerous role of patrolling the streets of Ulster's towns. After Chichester-Clark's meetings with socialist Prime Minister Harold Wilson, Northern Ireland's police, the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), were put under the army's authority. Following the recommendations of the Hunt Commission, the RUC was disarmed, and its auxiliary Ulster Special Constabulary (USC – the 'B' Specials) was disbanded and replaced by a locally recruited army unit, the Ulster Defense Regiment (UDR). From this point on, Chichester-Clark was caught between appeasing London's demands for reform, a backlash on the Unionist right, and the Marxist Provisional IRA's bombing campaign. After failing to secure from London a needed security initiative, Chichester-Clark resigned in the spring of 1971.

The new and last Northern Ireland Prime Minister, Brian Faulkner, was a businessman, regarded as a "great leader" by some but as a "compromiser" by others. He had a reputation for being a fervent Unionist, and as Home Affairs Minister under Brookeborough he had used emergency powers against the IRA. As Commerce Minister under O'Neill, he presided over the province's economic boom. Like P.W. Botha, Faulkner would be the first to experiment with the dreaded concept of "power-sharing," while also maintaining strong security measures. In his one-year premiership he gave chairmanship positions on parliamentary committees to members of the newly formed Catholic Social Democratic and Labor Party (SDLP), and continued local government reform and the centralization of more functions under provincial agencies.

In the summer of 1971, internment without trial of IRA suspects was introduced (IRA revenge against witnesses making it impossible

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to conduct fair trials); but this failed to stem the violence and infuriated the Catholic opposition that Faulkner was trying to court. In the aftermath of the shooting of anti-internment demonstrators in Londonderry by British soldiers in January 1972 ("Bloody Sunday"), Faulkner had a private dispute with British Prime Minister Edward Heath over security policy; and in March 1972 the Stormont Parliament, already with weakened powers, was dissolved by London, the province being put under direct rule from London.

At this point, the Northern Ireland reformist narrative enters a course slightly different from that in South Africa. The Protestants no longer held power as they did, and reform initiatives would originate from Whitehall's Northern Ireland Office and from the Secretary of State for NI, always a British mainland MP. From the outset, London made it clear that it would not allow any return to the old system of democracy in Northern Ireland, which could only mean Protestant rule since the Protestants were in a clear majority. The 1973 White Paper stipulated that any constitutional solution for the province would have to involve support from both sections of the community. Also in 1973, an election was held for a provincial assembly; and, after negotiations, a power-sharing executive was established (the Sunningdale Agreement), with a coalition of the reform Unionists (with Faulkner as Chief Executive), the SDLP, the Northern Ireland Labor Party and the co-confessional liberal Alliance Party. The Republic of Ireland was brought into the framework through an inter-governmental council, to promote "cross border co-operation." Faulkner's involvement in Sunningdale represented a change in his earlier positions, and the UUP was further divided. Although they only had a minority in the assembly, the Unionist right, through the efforts of the Ulster Workers' Council (UWC), launched a general strike in the province's key industries. The executive resigned, and after its collapse London took control of all new initiatives to the present. Given that Northern Ireland was not always high on London's agenda, there were long periods of stalemate. Upon the advent of Margaret Thatcher, a new initiative came in the form of the Anglo-Irish process. From 1980 onwards, there were several summit meetings between the British and Irish Prime Ministers, and interim top level meetings between ministers and civil servants. This process culminated in the Anglo-Irish

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Agreement, which Unionists opposed since it gave Dublin a major role, although short of formal joint authority, in the government of the province. Since the December 1993 Downing Street Declaration, London has worked to bring the IRA's political wing, Sinn Fein, into the process.

In both the Ulster and South African cases there obviously has been a process of retreat. In the late 1960s, the UUP and NP establishments were both faced with almost identical pressures to reform. In each situation, "reforms" never fully satisfied those opposed to Pretoria and Stormont. In fact, as Professor Arnheim observed, the use of concessions never staved off revolution, but rather "exacerbated a revolutionary situation."[96] The great nineteenth century French thinker Alexis de Tocqueville had written that reform was "the most perilous moment" for a "bad government." Of course, de Tocqueville was writing about absolute monarchs, but in the case of Ulster and South Africa we are dealing with constitutional states where power was held by a "tribe" and where reform exacerbated the differences within the "ruling tribes."

It would be overstating a point to attribute the decline of the civil religion in both Afrikaanerdom and Protestant Ulster solely to the business-oriented decisions of the elites. In an age of mass communications, especially television (which did not arrive in South Africa until 1976), neither the 'laager' fences nor the walled cities could keep out "dangerous" ideologies such as liberalism and socialism and other "isms" that questioned the civil faiths. With the winds of change from the 1960s to the present, there would be those of the "super-Calvinists," especially within the respective university intelligentsia, who would renounce the civil religion and even declare that Afrikaaner Nationalism and Ulster Loyalism were "contrary to the spirit of the Christian gospel." In Afrikaans, there is even an expression for one in this category: 'oorbeligte' (over-enlightened).

In politics there emerged parties to the left of the NP and the UUP, as well as 'ginger-groups' within, who would urge more reforms than even the establishments would permit. Liberal politics in South Africa was exclusively English-speaking until the 1970s when the liberal opposition Progressive Federal Party (PFP - or 'Progs') acquired a liberal Afrikaaner, Fredrik Van Zyl Slabbert, as leader. Even after Van Zyl Slabbert resigned in 1986, his successor was

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Afrikaaner businessman Zach De Beer. In late 1988 the PFP combined with two 'verligite' splinter parties from the NP to form the Democratic Party (DP). One of the splinter party leaders was an Afrikaaner, Wyland Malan. The DP increased its seats from 26 to 33 in the 1989 "squeeze right, squeeze left" election, and won seats even in some Afrikaans-speaking ridings. Within Ulster, liberalism, which was shared by both dissident Catholics and dissident Protestants, found its political expression in the Alliance Party of Northern Ireland (APNI), which has averaged about 13 percent of the popular vote and is largely confined to greater Belfast. Both the PFP/DP and the APNI found support within the same socioeconomic group: the urban middle classes, the very same segment which the establishments relied upon for support for its reforms.

Perhaps the most important influence which has seen both Afrikaanerdom and Protestant Ulster change from their unanimous support for the civil faiths to their present state of being extremely divided consists of the changes within their Calvinist churches. Since the 1960s, organized Protestantism elsewhere in the world has been in the forefront to promote racial integration and has sought to seek better relations with the Roman Catholic Church. Reformed churches in most countries were strongly saturated with the watered-down "neo-Calvinism" of liberal theologian Karl Barth. While integration and ecumenicalism have been pursued vigorously by such bodies as the World Council of Churches (WCC) and even the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC), they ran counter to the Afrikaaner and Ulster Protestant civil faiths. Hence, the Afrikaaner Reformed and the Irish Protestant churches were caught between remaining true to their respective heritages and maintaining good relations with their brother and sister churches abroad.

Eventually the NGK, the PCI and the Church of Ireland changed their perspectives and came more closely into line with the views of the World Council of Churches. Over the years, a new breed of Afrikaaner and Ulster Protestant has moved into the pulpit as well as onto the podium and into the boardroom. Thus in 1986 an NGK synod at Cape Town produced its "Church and Society" booklet which contained sections on race and politics that represented a 180 degree turnabout from its past attitude:

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> Racism is a sin ... [and] must be rejected and opposed in all its manifestations because it leads to oppression and exploitation.[96]
> ... apartheid as a political and social system by which human dignity is adversely affected ... cannot be accepted on Christian ethical grounds ... To the extent that the church and its members are involved in this, it confesses its participation with humility and sorrow.[97]

At its Rustenburg synod in 1990, the NGK further declared that apartheid was a "sin."

The PCI has produced similar statements, as found in its 1993 document "Presbyterian Principles and Political Witness in Northern Ireland Today." Instead of standing firm against the "great Roman whore," we read of "the encouraging growth in relationships, communication and understanding between the main Protestant Churches and the Roman Catholic Church..." and that "Christians should resolutely resist attitudes and actions, policies and personalities that promote prejudice and sectarianism."[98] Like the NGK, the PCI has confessed its "sins":

> The Presbyterian Church shares the guilt of the majority community in Northern Ireland for tolerating the practice of discrimination in jobs, housing and voting rights....[99]

The more conservative Calvinists have viewed the changes in the churches with much alarm, noting what they see as a clear departure from tradition and scripture. After the NGK's 1986 synod, many conservatives left it to form the Afrikaans Protestant Kerk (APK). Adriaan Pont, a retired NHK theology professor, wrote that the church "debate on apartheid is dominated by the Marxist, Neo-Marxist premise that sin is to be found in social structures." Asserting a fundamental Calvinist doctrine, Prof. Pont replied that "MAN is the sinner." Ecumenicalism with the Roman Catholic Church has also caused many Ulster Protestants to leave the two main churches for the conservative Reformed, Evangelical and Free Presbyterian churches. Rev. Wm. McCrea, a Free Presbyterian Minister, wrote: "many Protestant clergy have sold themselves to ecumenism, denying the very doctrines they vowed before God to

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defend." The turmoil in the churches especially is viewed by the conservative "super-Calvinists" as major rips in the fabrics of Afrikaanerdom and Protestant Ulster.

Given how deeply-rooted the civil traditions ran in both societies, and the growing chaotic circumstances caused by terrorism, the more conservative elements in Afrikaanerdom and Protestant Ulster lost confidence with their reformist 'verligte' leadership. Especially during the peak periods of violence there were loyalist and white right-wing "backlashes." In parallel developments since the late 1960s, there would emerge to the right of the establishments newly formed 'verkrampte' counter-establishment parties and other organizations, such as paramilitary groups, which challenged the elites. Both 'verkramptes' found support along the same fault lines within Ulster Protestant and Afrikaaner society: the urban working classes and the traditionalist rural populace. Ideologically, both 'verkramptes' were "rigid Calvinists," being the true and principled adherents of the purified civil faiths, and they chastised the elites for betraying their sacred tasks. While the world press and their own liberals attacked the NP and the UUP for 'foot dragging' on reform and for making only "cosmetic changes," the 'verkramptes' regarded even the slightest compromise as the 'thin edge of the wedge' leading to further concessions and then social and moral disasters – and, eventually, "surrender." Both would agree with Arnheim's comment that "if the pace of reform is speeded up, the revolution will come all the sooner."[100]

The year 1969 was the point at which both the Afrikaaner and Ulster laagers suffered their first cracks, with the 'verkamptes' forming new parties. Vorster's "pragmatism" was viewed suspiciously by three MPs. When Vorster permitted a racially-mixed rugby team to tour South Africa, that was enough. Under the leadership of Dr. Albert Hertzog, a former cabinet minister, the Herstigte Nasionale Partie (HNP – meaning Reconstituted National Party) was formed by those expelled from the NP. Over the years, the HNP criticized the NP for its "lack of principle" and "opportunism" in putting economic gain before racial separation. In a 1985 interview with an American newspaper, the present leader of the HNP, J.A. ('Jaap') Marais, said, when recalling the split: "We predicted at the time that when you started with this, you would end up with racially-mixed

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government."[101]

Meanwhile, in Ulster, O'Neill's policy of ending "sectarian bigotry" by actions like sending a telegram to the Vatican upon the death of Pope John XXIII was viewed suspiciously by many Unionists, especially the rising activist preacher Dr. Ian Paisley. To the slogan of "O'Neill must go!," groups like Ulster Protestant Action and the Ulster Constitution Defense Committee challenged the O'Neillites within the UUP. In 1969, the fiery Paisley ran directly against O'Neill on the Protestant Unionist ticket. Two years later, this party changed its name to the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP). The same type of attachment to stern principles was evident in Paisleyism as it was in Hertzogism. "Concession to Roman Catholicism spells curtailment to Protestantism" was the headline in an issue of Paisley's "The Protestant Telegraph".[102] Moreover, Paisley, like Marais, could say years later that 'we told you so,' when reminiscing about the failure of the UUP's compromise policies.

The pragmatic establishments also had to contend with back-bench and grassroots revolts from within, as well as challenges from the new splinter parties. The 'verkramptes' who remained within the established party either tried to recapture the leadership or to put enough pressure on the elite against granting more concessions. In this category are organizations like Ulster Vanguard (formed in 1972), led by sacked cabinet minister Billy Craig; the West Unionist Council of Harry West (who later became the UUP leader); and the right-wing of the NP, which centered around the late Dr. Andries Truernicht, a former cabinet minister and clergyman. These pressure groups again split away to form another new Nationalist or Unionist party when the leaderships yielded and accepted the dreaded concept of power-sharing governments. Faulkner's acceptance of Sunningdale saw Vanguard become the Vanguard Unionist Progressive Party (VUPP). Opposition to Botha's 1983 constitution saw Treurnicht and his supporters expelled from the NP, at which they, along with two smaller pressure groups, formed the Conservative Party (CP).

While the 'verkrampte' message was meant for all Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants, it was mostly within the urban working classes and the rural populace that the "no surrender" message won the most receptive hearing. Like rural inhabitants elsewhere, the rural

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Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants are more conservative in their social, political and religious attitudes than city-dwellers. The tradition of the 'planter' and the 'trekker' exhibits a greater meaning to those of the soil than to those living in the metropolitan areas. Moreover, the siege and massacre aspects of the sacred historians takes on a day-to-day meaning to those in border areas like the northern Transvaal and the southern Orange Free State, and in Fermanagh, south Tyrone and south Armagh. These regions are well known infiltration routes for terrorists, and are where Ulster Protestant and Afrikaaner farmers have been murdered.[103]

Traditionally the rural voters have voted along with their urban compatriots for the UUP and NP. With the advent of reformism, these voters have registered their suspicion by voting either for the new 'verkrampte' parties or for declared 'verkramptes' within the established party. The strong law-and-order policies of the CP and HNP, and the DUP, along with their policies of financial protection for the farmers, have made these parties strong in rural areas from the 1970s to the present. In 1970, Paisley won Stormont's rural Bannside seat, and the rural Westminster seat of north Antrim which he has held since. One other Westminster seat held by the DUP since 1983 is in the rural riding of Mid-Ulster. Until 1985, the HNP failed to elect an MP, as their 1970s small margins were spread throughout the rural and working class constituencies. In the 1981 election, after Vorster's debacles, the HNP's share of the popular vote snowballed to 14 percent; and, while they failed to win any seat, many formerly "safe" NP seats were now marginal. When the CP was founded, their MPs came largely from rural Transvaal and Orange Free State ridings like Waterberg, which Treurnicht had no trouble winning in a 1983 by-election.

The 'verkramptes' also received much support in another key segment: the respective working classes employed in the Belfast shipyards and aircraft industries, and in the Witwatersrand and Platteland mining and allied industries. The working classes are not as religious and socially conservative compared to their countryside compatriots, but they too feared the effects of reform. In reaction to IRA and ANC terrorism, blue collar Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants, whose areas sometimes border black townships and Catholic ghettos, have supported the calls for "getting tough with

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terrorists" as the 'verkramptes' have alleged that the security forces have their "hands tied." In times of economic downturn, the working classes have feared that the reforms, and outside pressures via the Sullivan and McBride codes, could mean a loss of their jobs. There have been allegations that new policies have benefited the non-whites and the Catholics at white and Protestant expense. For example, the NHP's "Die Afrikaaner" showed figures revealing that while whites paid 77 percent of taxes, the blacks received 45 percent of the benefits.[104] The DUP's "Voice of Ulster" once revealed that 75 percent of public housing in Belfast went to Catholics despite their being only 25 percent of the city's population. Hence, the DUP, the CP and the HNP emerged as defenders of working class Afrikaaner and Ulster Protestant interests.

Following Botha's new constitution, the right-wing reaction gathered steam. The HNP won its first and only seat in Sasolburg, an industrial Orange Free State riding in a 1985 by-election. After failing to mount a united CP/HNP front, the CP became the major 'verkrampte' force in white South African politics by winning 22 seats and replacing the PFP as the official opposition in the 1987 election. In the 1989 election the CP increased that number to 39. In the 1988 municipal elections the CP captured three-quarters of the Transvaal's municipalities, largely in mining towns like Boksburg and Carletonville, where they tried to reinstate 'petty apartheid' laws. Graham Leach had noted that for the late 1980s the CP surge "drew the debating forum towards the right away from a reformist agenda."[106] No longer was the NP the sole representative of Afrikaaner aspirations.

For the Ulster Protestant working class the VUPP was the main party until it folded in 1978 with its members rejoining the UUP, which had ousted Faulkner as leader. The 1979 Westminster election saw Billy Craig lose his largely working class East Belfast seat to DUP deputy leader Peter Robinson, who has retained it in subsequent elections. When terrorism peaked during the republican prisoners' hunger strike, the DUP made major gains in the 1981 local elections, increasing their overall number of councilors from 74 to 142, winning many of greater Belfast's working class wards to become the largest party on the city council. In this period the DUP and the UUP (which was divided within between those who favored

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devolution and the province's full integration into the United Kingdom) fought a tug-of-war within the Protestant electorate. With the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement, the two Unionist parties put aside their differences to mount a common front. In 1991 this common front was dissolved.

In the 1990s, 'verkrampte' politics in both South Africa and Ulster became more fragmented as leadership problems mounted. 'Max,' an Afrikaaner civil servant, wrote that "we need statesmen, but all we have is party politicians!" Mandela's release and the NP's negotiations with the ANC appeared to make any attempt at restoring Verwoerd's vision impossible. The only option left to the right-wing now with Mandela in power is to create a white state, or a 'volkstaat,' a plan previously called for by the right-wing paramilitaries, the Boerestaat Party, and the Afrikaaner Volkswag (AV – 'People's Guard'). Upon the urging of the newly formed Committee of Generals, many right-wing parties (including the CP and the HNP) came together under the umbrella of the Afrikaaner Volks Front (AVF). The AVF boycotted the recent election, holding to the position that the 'volkstaat' was non-negotiable. The AVF's first leader, retired General Constant Viljoen, ran in the election for the Freedom Front, mistakenly believing that a 'volkstaat' could be negotiated.

Northern Ireland's Unionists are locked in a stalemate over the Anglo-Irish Agreement, which they oppose on the basis that it gives Dublin too much say in the governing of the province, but which the British government refuses to scrap. "If you want Dublin off your backs," said a Labor MP to the Unionists, "you will have to negotiate with the SDLP."[107] In the summers of 1991 and 1992, unsuccessful inter-party talks were held, and now John Major is prepared to engage the IRA's political wing Sinn Fein into the talks with the Downing Street Declaration. The UUP gave the declaration "guarded support," while its many rank and file members grumbled. The DUP has denounced the declaration as having IRA's "bloody thumbprint." Given London's policy, some loyalist groups like Ulster Nation, the Ulster Movement, the Ulster Independence Committee and the loyalist paramilitaries have given up on unionism and have advocated an independent Ulster.

At this writing, conservative Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants

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find themselves in a situation akin to their 'myths' about Londonderry and Blood River. They are on their own and feel betrayed, but on this occasion they find that a segment of their own people have 'sold out.' Both 'verkramptes' believe in a "conspiracy theory" of politics. The reformist agenda has not solely been the work of their "traitor" leaders, but has come because of sinister external pressure, and largely from the United States. USA BACKS A UNITED IRELAND, was the headline of Paisley's "Protestant Telegraph" (Jan. 1982), with a claim that a leading US State Department official, who had blocked Paisley's visa application, was a member of a Catholic Irish fraternity. US BANKROLLS & MANIPULATES COMMUNIST TAKEOVER IN SA was a headline in the AWB's "Sweepslag" (2 Nov. 1992), with a story about the sinister role of "confessed Marxist" US Ambassador, William Swing. The US State Department has been acting as a fulcrum for even more sinister interests: "economic babylon" and "religious babylon," to use the apocalyptic images from the book of Revelation.

Journalist Roland Fichte wrote that the "big money boys in New York" (or "die geldmag" to use an old Afrikaans expression) desire South Africa's mineral wealth. Prof. Pont, also a member of the HNP, added that the internationalists "want a black government that can be bought – like Mobutu of the Zaire." Furthermore, "all the forces attacking and opposing the Afrikaaner people (including the NP) are financed (almost exclusively) from abroad. The ANC, SACP, COSATU, and SACC's, etc, budgets are all furnished by extra-South African powers – they are, strictly speaking, front organizations and NOT indigenous organizations."

Ulster Unionist MP John Taylor cited that "the Irish Republic's diplomatic services in foreign states and the Roman Catholic lobby in Europe and especially the eastern coast of the USA have been active against Ulster." One Ulster resident added that the "USA would sacrifice us into a united Ireland if the Republic would join NATO." Rev. Wm. McCrea, also a DUP MP, noted that the Vatican "desires to destroy Ulster," since the province "is one of the last bastions of Biblical Protestantism." Civil servant Robert Bradley, agreeing more with the Afrikaaner conservatives, wrote that the "driving force [against Ulster] is largely economic interests which appear to operate at a global level ... [and] economic blocks like the

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European Community."

The current dilemmas faced by the conservative Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants are greeted with mixed views. On the one hand, their dark and disastrous predictions of where the reformist policies would lead their respective countries are confirmed every day, which also confirms their unique Protestant worldviews. Also, their collective futures continue to look gloomy. While the 'verkramptes' have undoubtedly a militant traditionalist witness, they were able only to 'circle the wagons' or 'close the gates' behind a fraction of their respective communities. Their political and church establishments have long discarded the civil faiths, adding to the sense of betrayal felt by the conservatives. In so defending Afrikaanerdom and Protestant Ulster, many have the view that the political process has failed, have sensed that a future 'Armageddon' is on the horizon, and have turned to the "just war" resistance tradition.

Harp and Springbok" Red Hand and triple Seven

Service in the military and/or the police is a deep tradition in both Protestant Ulster and Afrikaanerdom, where Calvin's doctrine of the "just war" has held a strong sway. The militia, or commando, protecting the community of the elect against the 'total onslaught' of the enemy has played a major role in both cultures, as both Ulster Protestants and Afrikaaners have regarded their soldiers and policemen as "guardians of the peace," while at the same time the South African Police (SAP), the SADF, RUC and UDR have come under fire for heavy-handedness in the deadly tasks of dealing with terrorism over the past three decades.

The SAP and RUC have had a paramilitary character, since their tasks involved counterinsurgency as well as normal police duties. Likewise the military has been involved in "aid to the civil power" operations in support of the police. Pretoria expanded its police and army in terms of manpower, equipment and finances from the mid-1960s until de Klerk scaled down the security forces. During the 1980s, the 'securocrats' "emerged as the dominant forces in the formulation and execution of government policy"[107], according to an American analyst. In 1970, Stormont handed over control of its security forces to London, but the latter's policy of 'Ulsterization' in the late 1970s scaled down the British Army's role and increased the

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roles of the locally-recruited RUC and UDR.

When advances are made in the "reform" process, the security forces in both places came under much scrutiny, because many policemen and soldiers are recruited from rural and working class Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants.[108] As pointed out earlier, both of these segments of Ulster and South African societies are the most die-hard conservatives to the civil faith, and are very supportive of the 'verkrampte' parties. As "scandals" have indicated, some policemen and soldiers are closet members of the paramilitary groups.[109] On occasions, the 'verkrampte' politicians have called on security force members to ignore "unlawful" orders from the reformist politicians. In the event of final capitulation the security forces have been regarded as the last lines of defense.

The RUC's Special Branch and the SAP's Security Branch have both been under investigation for fighting their own 'shoot-to-kill' covert war with the ANC and the IRA. In the mid-1980s, the former was subjected to an inquiry by English senior policeman John Stalker regarding three separate incidents in which unarmed IRA suspects were shot to death. Stories that the members of the UDR were passing information about IRA suspects to loyalist paramilitaries prompted an inquiry by another British policeman John Stevens in 1989. The UDR was merged with the regular army regiment, the Royal Irish Rangers (which contained a greater number of Catholics), to form the new Royal Irish Regiment (RIR), which would be used for both regular army duties and counterinsurgency. At present, Stevens is conducting another investigation, which has followed a claim by Britain's Independent Television Network (ITN) that both the RUC and the RIR have been worked secretly with the paramilitaries to assassinate known republicans. The RUC's Chief Constable has denied all the allegations.

When de Klerk withdrew much of the press restrictions, stories surfaced about SAP 'hit teams' who were alleged to have assassinated ANC activists during the township violence of the 1980s. Also, the SADF was charged with operating covert 'hit teams' through its Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB), and the Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC). A Commission under Justice Harms was created to investigate these charges, and when the ANC made further claims against the security forces in 1991, much of this work was taken over

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by a similar Commission under Justice Goldstone. In late 1992 the latter commission reported it had found "evidence" of activity aimed at "destabilizing and discrediting" the ANC. At a December 1992 press conference, de Klerk announced that 23 senior army officers (which included two of the most senior heads of military intelligence) were being forced into "early retirement" or were being "suspended from duty" because of reported activities and links with right-wing organizations which aimed to "prevent us proceeding with our constitutional goals." The SAP then saw 11 of its senior officers suspended in April 1994 following the Goldstone Commission's report claiming that they were arming Inkata.

The SADF, now renamed the South African National Defense Force (SANDF), is currently being merged with the ANC's military wing MK (Unkonto we Siwze) and the remaining bantustan defense forces; and the remaining senior white officers indicated that they would work under Mandela. There is still some question as to how many of the white members of the SANDF would react in any showdown with the right-wing. Former AVF leader General Viljoen told an Afrikaans newspaper that he did not think the army would move against white paramilitary groups.[110] The same question has been asked about Ulster's security forces in the event of a British withdrawal from the province.

It was in reaction to violence and terrorism that the right-wing backlash in both Ulster and South Africa resulted in the emergence of the paramilitary groups. Loyalist paramilitaries, whether the formerly legal Ulster Defense Association (UDA) or illegal groups like the "reconstituted UVF" and the Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF), date back to the early 1970s and late 1960s. Afrikaaner paramilitaries, namely the Afrikaaner Weerstandsbweiging (AWB – Afrikaaner Resistance Movement) and similar groups, only became noticed in the 1980s when more conservative Afrikaaners rejected Botha's reforms. When de Klerk started negotiating with the ANC, more Afrikaaner right-wing paramilitary groups under many names (e.g., White Wolves, Order of the Boer People, and the Boer Republican Army) were formed and for a time proliferated in their numerical strength.

Ideologically, the paramilitaries still support the idea of an Afrikaaner 'volkstaat,' and of an independent Ulster. To achieve this,

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the paramilitary leaders at first vowed to wage total war in the spirit of Carson and De Wet should the doomsday scenarios come to pass. "If Mandela wants war, we'll give him war," said AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche.[111] They also have a common sentiment in that "if the (IRA or the ANC) can bomb its way to power, then so can we!" The militant activities of the AWB, UDA, etc., ranged from rallies and marches, where many members wore military clothing, and may reach to shadowy acts of revenge shootings should either a Protestant or a white South African be murdered.

The paramilitaries have increased not only in strength but also in sophistication, in trying to outlive their comical images. With an estimated strength of 12,000, the UDA, UVF, etc., formed a Combined Loyalist Command. The British press revealed that for 1992 the loyalists had inflicted more casualties than had the IRA. "The Economist" noted that since 1988 the loyalists have acquired better weapons, and a "younger and more ruthless leadership."[112] The start of 1993 saw the fear "that the loyalists' new year offensive would escalate into car bomb and remote-controlled devices against Republican targets on both sides of the border."[113] With the Downing Street Declaration heightening loyalist fears, *The Belfast Telegraph* reported that the UDA, UVF, etc., were "being 'inundated' with young people wanting to join their ranks ... and businessmen are reported to be pumping money into [their] foreign bank accounts ..."[114] Another Belfast newspaper obtained secret documents revealing the UDA's "chilling plans" to create a separate loyalist state following a possible British withdrawal.[115]

The same kind of reports surfaced regarding the AWB and other Afrikaaner paramilitary groups as the multi-party Transitional Executive Council was installed in December 1993. In the week prior to the election in April 1994, a major right-wing bomb blast occurred near the headquarters of the ANC and the PAC. In commenting about the blast, University of Cape Town political studies Professor David Welsh said "the right-wing volcano we all thought was extinct is about to blow."[116] Despite their debacle in Bophuthatswana, "the image of the AWB has changed dramatically over the past 18 months," according to Johannesburg's left-wing *Weekly Mail*. "English-speakers now make up 60 percent of the organization and its top ranks are filled with middle-class professionals and ex-army

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officers."[117] It was estimated that the AWB had the support of 60 percent of the police, from whom they had obtained some of their weapons, and according to the AWB its self-defense units have increased by 365 percent since 1990, giving it an estimated strength of 12,000.

Undoubtedly the Ulster loyalist and Afrikaaner 'bitter-enders' are well-armed and are waiting for their 'Armageddon.' They face dilemmas akin to that of the 'verkrampte' politicians, namely that they do not have the full support of the peoples whose interests they are defending. They also face the problem of "how to rebel against authority in the name of loyalty to that very authority," as Steven Bruce observed in his study on the loyalist paramilitaries.[118] With Mandela as SA President, this is now not so much a dilemma for the AWB, save the fact that a major segment of Afrikaaners have accepted the new dispensation. Undoubtedly, groups like the UDA and the AWB will be forces to be reckoned with should conditions in South Africa and Ulster deteriorate and result in the 'wagons circling' and the 'gates closing.'

Epilogue and Conclusions

This study, like any study in the social sciences, is not complete, especially as the Ulster and South African situations are still festering. The ANC is in power in Pretoria, but there are continuing possibilities of a showdown with the white right if the whites are pressed too far too fast. Until shortly before this article was written, Northern Ireland continued to make front page news with accounts of both Republican and loyalist terrorist outrages. With the IRA's Sinn Fein coming to the negotiating table, the future cannot be forecast. But historically a clear pattern has emerged. Both Afrikaanerdom and Protestant Ulster have common Calvinist roots which extend back to the 1600s. Their relative histories carry memories of struggle, massacres, and eventual victory, all at the hands of an almighty God. These events are still remembered and commemorated on July 12th and December 16th. In the nineteenth century, both these Calvinist peoples formed political parties and fraternal societies which converted their message into political power. Starting in the 1960s as the world around them changed rapidly, the established leadership of both the Afrikaaners and the Ulster

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Protestants attempted to accommodate to the changing world, but this polarized the respective nations. While the established leadership element and the middle classes have abandoned their traditional civil faiths, the more traditionalist Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants have seen their civil faiths vindicated by the constant terrorism, external hostility and political accommodation that places both in fear of their national survival. R. W. Johnson once went as far to comment that "history is on the side of the 'verkramptes.'" Looking to the future with apprehension, the paramilitaries have predicted that the siege of Londonderry and the Battle of Blood River may well be mere 'picnics' compared to what may happen next. History often repeats itself, and with many of the post-Cold War conflicts centering on religion and nationalism, history is repeating itself in eastern Europe and the Middle East. Many among the Ulster Protestants and the Afrikaaners fear that history may yet force them to try to "circle the wagons" and "close the gates."

Footnotes

1. For more detailed information on the Ulster situation, read the author's "Nationalism, Internationalism and the Conflict in Northern Ireland," *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies*, Summer, 1988.
2. "The Citizen" (Johannesburg, SA), 11 October 1993.
3. Quoted in "The Times-Colonist" (Victoria, BC, Canada), 27 November 1993.
4. Massie's article appeared in *The Sunday Telegraph* (London, UK), 11 April 1993, and was quoted in *The Orange Standard* (Belfast, NI), May 1993.
5. Donald Harmon Akenson, *God's Peoples: Covenant and Land in South Africa, Israel and Ulster*, Kingston, Canada: McGill-Queens Press, 1994. Donald Akenson is a Professor of History at Queens University, Kingston, Canada.
6. Letter by Terrence Maguire in *The Washington Times* (D.C.), 25 October 1985. I wrote a response to Maguire, and I wrote "Ulster and South Africa: 'Laagers' Against Terrorists?," *Reformed Perspective*, June 1989.
7. "Boer" is the Dutch/Afrikaans word for farmer, but has often been used synonymously with Afrikaaner.
8. This was documented by South African journalist Aida Parker and is quoted from General Sir Walter Walker, *Bear at the Back Door: The Soviet Threat to the West's Lifeline in Africa*, (Surrey (U.K.): Foreign Affairs Publishing, 1978), pp. 139-142.
9. Jack Holland, *The American Connection: U.S. Guns, Money, and Influence in Northern Ireland*, (New York, N.Y.: Viking, 1987).
10. Graham Leach, *South Africa* (London: Mandarin, 1989), pp. 275-276.
11. Press Statement by Congressman Mario Biaggi (D-NY), 25 July 1985.
12. "Southern African Facts Sheet," no. 54, December 1983.
13. The McBride Principles, aimed at establishing "fair employment" between Protestants

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and Catholics, were formulated in 1985 and named after former Eire Foreign Minister Sean McBride. They were based on the older Sullivan Code for American companies operating in South Africa. Both anti-apartheid and Irish-American activists pressured these American companies with Northern Ireland and South African holdings, and local governments with pension fund investments in these companies, to abide by the codes. These codes both required the firms to increase non-white and Catholic representation in management, and for specific training programs for non- white and Catholic employees.

14. "Roca Report," (Pretoria, SA), No. 62, February 1994.

15. "Roca Report," No. 47, November 1992. This report also revealed that Hillary Clinton "was president of the New World Foundation which had funded many radical organizations and had given $38 million to the pro-ANC Africa Fund."

16. Brian Atwood, "Setting a Precedent," *The Washington Times*, 22 November 1985, pp. 1D-2D.

17. "The Citizen," 22 May 1993.

18. *The Sunday Times* (London, UK), 8 November 1992.

19. *Sunday Life* (Belfast, NI), 19 December 1993.

20. Press Statement, Congressman Mario Biaggi (D-NY), 24 July 1985. Biaggi's bi-partisan Ad-hoc Congressional Committee for Irish Affairs (as of 1 March 1985) included many figures who were also prominent in the anti-South Africa crusade, such as Congressmen Ronald Dellums (D-Cal) and Howard Wolpe (D-Mich.).

21. "Roca Report," No. 62, February 1994; and No. 47, November 1993.

22. Quoted from "Aida Parker Newsletter," No. 164, June 1993.

23. Andrew Hunter, British Conservative MP for Basingstoke, produced a report in 1988 on the links between the Provisional IRA and the ANC entitled "Partners in Terror," which was summarized in his article "IRA/ANC/SWAPO Cooperation," *European Freedom Review*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Winter 1989. His report was also presented to then-Prime Minister Thatcher. In March of 1994 Mr. Hunter was an IRA assassination target.

In private correspondence with the author dated 21 June 1990, Mr. Hunter wrote that "contact and co-operation between [the IRA and the ANC] emerged in two ways. First, from the world of left-wing protest and student politics - supporters of both movements have common cause; secondly, the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement has played a key role. Sinn Fein (the political wing of the IRA) and the Irish Communist Party influence in the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement is very strong indeed. The IAAM has proved to be the meeting place for advocates of terrorism in South Africa and extreme republicanism/nationalism in Ireland.

"...On December 22nd 1988 the police in London fortuitously discovered an IRA bomb cache. Documents found at the house indicated white South African members of the South African Communist Party and ANC were known to the IRA ... and so it goes on.

"I am aware of some 30-40 occasions when representatives of the IRA and representatives of the ANC have met and/or declared their support for each other."

24. Conor Cruise O'Brien, former Irish diplomat, has written much on Northern Ireland and South Africa, and on Israel, but has not directly compared the three covenanted cultures. Before Akenson's work there was *The Elusive Search for Peace: South Africa, Israel and Northern Ireland*, ed. Hermann Giliomee and Jannie Gagiano (Cape Town: Oxford University Press and Institute for Democratic Alternative for South Africa, 1990).

25. W.A. de Klerk. *The Puritans in Africa: A Story of Afrikaanerdom* (London: Rex Collins, 1975).

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26. One example is George M. Fredrickson's *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in American and South African History* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1981).
27. Donald H. Akenson. *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922* (Kingston, (Canada): McGill-Queens Press, 1989), p. 12.
28. Neither the ANC nor has the South African Communist Party made any secret about their alliance. The 'third world' Marxism of the Provisional IRA is documented in such works as Claire Sterling's *The Terror Network: The Secret War of International Terrorism* (New York: Berkeley Books, 1982).
29. From June to August 1992, this author drafted and sent questionnaires to both Ulster Protestants and Afrikaaners, to increase the author's first-hand sources. The questionnaires were distributed randomly by way of contacts, but the respondents came from Ulster Protestants and Afrikaaners of varying age, occupation, political sentiment, etc.
30. T. Dunbar Moodie. *The Rise of Afrikaanerdom: Power, Apartheid, and the Afrikaaner Civil Religion* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1975).
31. Leonard Thompson. *The Political Mythology of Apartheid* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985).
32. Moodie, op cit, p. 26.
33. Of recent note, the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa has reminded its members not to play sports on a Sunday. (*The Citizen*, 16 July 1993). As well, one major Ulster Protestant monthly carried two articles in recent issues denouncing trading and sports on Sundays. (*The Orange Standard*, March and April, 1994).
34. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, edited by John T. McNeill, translated by Ford Lewis Battles. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, [1533], 1961), p. 245.
35. This viewpoint, known as "Anglo-Israelism" or "British-Israelism" or "Israel Identity," has held that the Anglo-Saxons, Celts and other north Europeans are the lost tribes of Israel, being descended of those taken into captivity by the Assyrian Empire in the eight century, BC. A small number of Afrikaaners and Ulster Protestants hold to this belief, which does reinforce their covenantal claims. The slain Ulster Unionist MP for Belfast South, Rev. Robert Bradford, was a strong advocate of this view, as was slain former DUP activist George Seawright. It is reported that some members of the Afrikaaner right hold to this Israel Identity view.
36. Clifford Smyth, *Rome: Our Enemy* (Belfast: Puritan Publishing Co., 1984), p. 13.
37. Rev. Brett Ingram, *Covenant and Challenge: Reflections on Ulster's Identity* (Lurgan, NI: New Ulster Publications, 1989), pp. 34-45.
38. Rev. Thomas Hamilton, *A History of Presbyterianism in Ulster* (Kilkeel, NI: Mourne Mission Trust, [1886], 1982), p. 30.
39. Hamilton, op cit, p. 30.
40. Finlay Holmes, *Our Irish Presbyterian Heritage* (Belfast: Publications Committee, Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1992), p. 9.
41. Quoted from Barbara Villet, *Blood River* (New York: Everest House, 1982), p. 96.
42. Moodie, op cit, p. 2.
43. Moodie, ibid, p. 2.
44. Riana Heymans, *The Voortrekker Monument, Pretoria* (Pretoria: Board of Control of the Voortrekker Monument, 1986), p. 5.
45. Heymans, ibid, p. 7.
46. Quoted from Villet, op cit, back cover.
47. Quoted from Moodie, op cit, p. 13.

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48. Calvin, op cit, p. 17.
49. See Lynne Bryer's and Francois Theorn's *The Huguenot Heritage: The Story of the Huguenots at the Cape* (Diep River, Cape Province: Chameleon Press, 1987), and Ian Paisley's *The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre* (Belfast: Martyr's Memorial Publications, 1972).
50. Hamilton, op cit, p. 57.
51. Hamilton, op cit, p. 59.
52. Quoted from Moodie, op cit, p. 6.
53. Heymans, op cit, p. 6.
54. Heymans, op cit, p. 6.
55. Akenson, *Gods Peoples*, p. 3.
56. Rev. M.W. Dewar, Rev. John Brown and Rev. S.E. Long, *Orangeism: A New Historical Appreciation* (Belfast: Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, 1967), pp. 56-57.
57. Derek Miller, *Still Under Siege* (Lurgan, NI: Ulster Society Publications, 1989), p. 46.
58. Derek Miller, ibid, p. 41.
59. Quoted from Dewar, et al, op cit, p. 61.
60. Heymans, ibid, p. 29.
61. Heymans, op cit, p. 30.
62. Quoted from Heymans, op cit, p. 30.
63. There is a wealth of literature published on both sides of the Atlantic about the contribution of the Scots-Irish in American history, especially that of the frontier. One example in Rev. Howard Cromie's *Ulster Settlers in America* (Belfast: The Universities Press, [1976] 1984).
64. Moodie, op cit, p. 20.
65. In the upper dome of the Voortrekker Monument is an opening through which a ray of sunlight falls on the cenotaph's inscription "Ons vir jou Suid-Afrika" (We for thee South Africa) at high noon on every December 16th.
66. Moodie, op cit, p. 21.
67. Quoted from "The Hoskins Report" (newsletter), 5 April 1993.
68. The view that mining-finance ("the Randlords") was the major cause of the 1899-1902 War is not solely an Afrikaaner belief. See J. A. Hobson's works, and Thomas Pakenham's *The Boer War* (London: Weidenfield & Nicholson, 1979).
69. *The Orange Standard*, May 1994.
70. There are other ironies to this study. Many of those who were supportive of the Boers were Irish Nationalists, such as Michael Davitt, who chronicled much of the 1899-1902 War in his "The Boer Fight for Freedom." Lord Carson had been involved with the defense of those involved in the 1895 Jameson raid on the Transvaal, and many British generals from the 1899-1902 War supported the UVF. Yet Cecil Rhodes had given a donation to the Irish Nationalist Party for support for the charter for Rhodesia.
71. Quoted in Thompson, op cit, p. 20.
72. Thompson, ibid, p. 1.
73. R.K. Minogue, *Nationalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968).
74. The first National Party was founded in 1914 by General J. B. M. Hertzog on the "South Africa first" platform. This party had formed a government in 1926 in coalition with the English-speaking Labour Party. In 1934, Hertzog merged the first NP into the United party with Prime Minister J. C. Smuts' South Africa Party. Those who felt that Hertzog had conceded too much formed the 'purified' National Party under D.F. Malan.

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75. Quoted from Moodie, op cit, p. 265.
76. Rian Malan, *My Traitor's Heart: a South African exile returns to face his country, his tribe and his conscience* (New York: Morgan Entrekin, 1990), p. 19.
77. *The Newsletter* (Belfast), 21 March 1992.
78. Quoted from Richard Rose, *Governing Without Consensus: An Irish Perspective* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1971), p. 95.
79. Quoted from Tom Hopkinson, *South Africa* (New York: Time Incorporated, 1964), p. 110.
80. Quoted from Alex Greer, op cit, p. 379-380.
81. One may contend against the central thesis of study on the role of Calvinism, due to the fact that many Ulster Protestants have been Anglicans or Episcopalians, which is not a church known for being "Calvinistic." Unlike many Anglican Churches, the Church of Ireland has had a strong "Calvinist" heritage since James Ussher was Archbishop of Armagh in the early 1600s, although in other periods the high church has held greater sway. Since the evangelical revivals in the mid-1800s, and when the church was disestablished in 1870, and with the rise of the Orange Order, former animosities with the Presbyterians were forgotten, and both assumed a common Ulster Protestant identity.
82. Peter Brooke, "The Ulster Protestants: Church and Nation", in *Ulster: An Ethnic Nation?* (Lurgan, N.I.: The Ulster Society, 1986), p. 11.
83. Liam de Poer, *Divided Ulster* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1970), p. 132.
84. Ivor Wilkins and Hans Strydom, *The Super Afrikaaners: Inside the Afrikaaner Broederbond* (Johannesburg: Jonathon Hall, 1978), p. 1.
85. Wilkins and Strydom, ibid, p. 340.
86. Rev. M.W. Dewar, *Why Orangeism?* (Belfast: Grand Lodge of Ireland, 1958), p. 22.
87. Quoted from Judy Seidman's *Facelift Apartheid: South Africa After Soweto* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 1980), p. 12.
88. *The Economist*, 4 June 1960.
89. The Afrikaans right strongly believes that Verwoerd's murder was no accident, and was a conspiracy which Vorster was involved in.
90. R.W. Johnson, *How Long Will South Africa Survive?* (London: MacMillan Press, 1977), p. 30.
91. Leach, op cit, p. 39-40.
92. Quoted from the booklet: (No author given) *South Africa - America's Newest Colony* (Pretoria: Skilkom, 1985), p. 10.
93. *The Economist*, 6 September 1985.
94 . Paul Arthur, *Political Realities: Government and Politics of Northern Ireland* (London: Longmans, 1984), p. 86.
95. Steven Bruce, *God Save Ulster: The Religion and Politics of Paisleyism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1989), p. 260.
96. "Church and Society: A Testimony of the Dutch Reformed Church" (English translation from Afrikaans) (Bloemfontein: General Synodical Commission, 1987), p. 20.
97. Ibid, pp. 47-48.
98. *Presbyterian Principles and Political Witness in Northern Ireland Today* (Belfast: The Presbyterian Church in Ireland Church and Government Committee, 1993), pp. 6, 13.
99. Ibid, p. 15.
100. Quoted from "South Africa: America's Newest Colony?," op cit, p. 10.
101. *The Washington Times*, 21 September 1985.

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102. Steven Bruce, op cit, p. 265.
103. *The Orange Standard* and other loyalist newspapers have used the expression "ethnic cleansing" to describe the plight of the border area Protestant farmers. A story in *The Sunday Times* (Johannesburg, SA), 2 May 1993, reported that groups of Afrikaaner farmers "had enough of being the targets of attack" at which they "were forming their own army to protect themselves," said a CP MP.
104. "Die Afrikaaner," 11 February 1987.
105. "Voice of Ulster," March 1982.
106. Leach, op cit, p. 116.
107. Kurt M. Campbell, "Marching for Pretoria", *The Boston Globe Magazine*, May 1987, p. 26.
108. For the compositions of the Ulster and South African security forces and reports of covert paramilitary activities of some of their members, see journalist Chris Ryder's *RUC: A Force Under Fire* (London: Mandarin, 1990), and *The Ulster Defence Regiment: An Instrument of Peace?* (London: Mandarin, 1992), and left-wing writer Gavin Cawthra's *Brutal Force: The Apartheid War Machine* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund for southern Africa, 1986) and *Policing South Africa: The SAP and the Transition from Apartheid* (London: Zed Books Ltd., 1993).
109. Ryder, op cit, and Cawthra, op cit.
110. "Rapport" (Johannesburg, SA), 30 January 1994.
111. "Roca Report", No. 61, January 1994.
112. *The Economist*, 16 January 1993.
113. *The Times* (London, UK), 5 January 1993.
114. *The Belfast Telegraph*, 6 December 1993.
115. *Sunday Life*, 16 January 1994.
116. *International Express* (London, UK), 27 April-3 May, 1994.
117. *The Weekly Mail* (Johannesburg, SA), 23 December 1993.
118. *The Weekly Telegraph*" (London, UK), 29 June-5 July, 1994.

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The Concept of Heredity in the History of Western Culture: Part One

Roger Pearson
Institute for the Study of Man

The recent publication of Herrnstein and Murray's *The Bell Curve*, reviewed in this issue of *The Mankind Quarterly,* has led to a remarkable controversy within the media itself. Several of the initial reviews were favorable, as in *The New York Times Book Review,* but the commitment to the fanciful concept of biological egalitarianism, so strong in the politicized world that is contemporary multi-racial Western society, soon led to a violent reaction against the book and all associated with its message. Few if any of the reviewers who criticized it cared to challenge the data contained in it: most preferred to trash it by seeking to demonize it by emotional and irrational tirades. Unfortunately, co-author Richard Herrnstein died of cancer shortly before it was published, and this placed the entire weight of its defense on Charles Murray. In particular, *The Mankind Quarterly* was criticized by several radical commentators, such as Leon Kamin, a former New England editor of the U.S. Communist Party's weekly newspaper, and by journalist Charles Lane, also the holder of strong political views. Lane attacked *The Mankind Quarterly* as the source of a number of the articles containing data cited in *The Bell Curve*, complaining that "[N]o fewer than seventeen researchers cited in *The Bell Curve* have contributed to *Mankind Quarterly*." This is a charge the present writer, as publisher of *The Mankind Quarterly,* does not dispute: though he regards it as an accolade rather than a criticism.[1]

However, the general reading public, including possibly a high percentage of those who have been exposed to contemporary politically biased university courses in the humanities, fail to appreciate the true history of Western thought concerning the role of heredity and race – for race is nothing if not a matter of heredity.

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[1] *New York Times Book Review*, Oct. 16, 1994. *New York Review of Books*, Dec. 1, 1994.

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The writer therefore feels that it might be useful to present a brief outline of this history, showing how committed the Western world was to a recognition of the efficacy of heredity until academic and media attitudes were affected in the first half of the present century by changes in the social, political and demographic climate. This first article is consequently designed to illustrate the deep belief in the importance of heredity and race which prevailed from the earliest times until roughly the end of the first quarter of the present century. It will be followed by a second article, in the Fall issue of *The Mankind Quarterly*, which will document the rise of politically-motivated egalitarian ideology in the classrooms, which with the support of a substantial portion of the media eventually succeeded in making the idea of *biological inequality* politically unacceptable. Despite the fact that there is today a rapidly developing body of scientific research which, when viewed without fear or prejudice, clearly validates the age-old comprehension of the role of heredity in shaping the potential limits of individual human abilities, too many people are unaware of the mechanics behind the swing toward the powerful political notion of the *biological equality* of mankind. It is to be hoped that the following observations will encourage readers to enquire more deeply into this remarkable development.

Heredity in Ancient Europe

Western tradition has long recognized that heredity plays a significant role in determining not merely the characteristics of plants and animals but also the mental and physical qualities of human beings. Some elementary recognition of the role of genetics as a causal force may have originated as early as the Neolithic revolution, when cultivators learned how to improve upon the various species of wild grasses and to breed domesticated milk- and meat-giving animals which were biologically more useful to mankind than those they found in the wild. By the time of the great classical civilizations of ancient Greece and Rome it had become commonplace knowledge – based on observing and remembering the generations from the same family – that heredity also played an important role in determining the character and abilities of men and women.

In most early European societies, as in virtually all early societies that achieved an advanced culture, the social group was seen

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by its members as an intergenerational affair, with the family and the ancestors playing an important role in the self-concept of the individual. Life does not begin, nor does it end, with the individual. As Fustel de Coulanges pointed out in 1864, in his classic study of ancient Greek and Roman culture entitled *The Ancient City* (1955), it was the idea of common descent from the same ancestral forebears – the idea of belonging to a specific community of families, and of sharing the same, hopefully eternal, thread of life – that held the freemen of the Greek city-state together. As long as the lineage survived, the ancestors lived on in the minds and bodies of their descendants; death was only final when the entire nation was eliminated. The biological reality was interpreted into religious terms. The individual was seen as the product of the forces of biological causality, a living link in the chain that was the lineage, just as the lineage comprised a vital component of the nation-state, and the nation-state was a distinctly biological unit, with its own distinctive gene pool:

> Reproduction in the ancient community was a religious duty ... The religious society was the family, the genos. Paternal dignity and sacerdotal dignity were fused: the eldest son, upon the death of the father, becomes the head and priest of the family. The deceased father is honoured by his children as a kind of divinity. He himself is honoured by his children as a kind of divinity. He himself rendered the same worship to his ancestors: thus the greatest misfortune that his piety had to fear, is that the line shall be stopped. For then his religion would disappear from the earth, his hearth would become extinct, the whole series of his departed ones would fall into oblivion ...

The qualities that characterized individuals were acquired, it was believed, from their ancestors. Thus we find a speaker in the *Odyssey* (*IV*, 60) observing that "the blood of your parents was not lost in you, but ye are of the line of men that are sceptered kings, the fosterlings of Zeus, for no churl could beget sons like you." Similarly there are references to the disguised Athena as being "delicate of countenance such as are the sons of kings" (XIII, 216), whereas in the Iliad Thersites is described as ill-formed with a warped head. It was

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recognized that well-born children still had to be schooled if they were to develop their abilities to the maximum; but their basic character was inborn. Indeed, even truthfulness – a revered value – was deemed to be an hereditary quality, and to call a man a liar was tantamount to calling him a bastard, a man of impure, inferior descent. As late as Classical Athens, Aristotle defined the physical and moral characteristics that characterized nobility as "an inherited virtue" (Pol. *IV.* 8). In this, as in so many of his opinions, Aristotle was echoing ancient convictions expressed in the *Iliad,* as when a speaker protests that: "Therefore ye could not say that I am weak and a coward by lineage, and so dishonor my spoken word" (Il. *XIV*, 126).

According to L. R. Palmer, the authority on the Pylos tablets, Achaean kings held their office by virtue of the purity of their descent. Among the Achaeans, he wrote: "Where the 'luck' of the tribe is concerned, there is no substitute for blue blood" (*Achaeans and Indo-Europeans* 1955, p. 9). Werner Jaeger went even further in stressing the importance the Greeks placed on breeding, describing the Hellenic ideal as an "aristocracy of race." (1945, p. 205)

Because of their respect for good breeding, the Greeks honored their women as the progenitors of the race, and it was said that men chose their wives as they chose their horses, by the length of their pedigrees. Only children born of legitimate wives (i.e., of women selected because of the quality of their forebears) could inherit the social status of the father. Indeed, in Athens and other Greek city-states, to be recognized as a *eupatrid* (a man of good ancestry) one had to be descended from no less than nine generations of untainted noble stock on both sides of the family tree.

Plato, whose enthusiasm for eugenics is well known, praised the Spartan interest in eugenic breeding (*Laws*, 630). Aristotle was equally impressed by the need to breed good stock. Theognis of Megara constantly praised the importance of heredity, complaining that the well-born would sometimes accept inferior marriage partners for the sake of their wealth, lamenting that "We seek well-bred rams and sheep and horses and wish to breed from these ... [but] men revere money, and the good marry the evil, and the evil the good. Wealth has confounded race." (*Theognis*, *V.* 183). Racial purity was linked to physical appearance, with Spartan women renowned for their beauty; and character was seen as inherited along with personal

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features: "Thou art pleasing to look upon and thy character is like to thy form" (*Stobaeus*, lxxxviii. 71). In Greek literature the importance of heredity is repeated again and again: "Noble children are born from noble sires, the base are like in nature their father" (*Alcmeaon*, Fr. 7); "I bid all mortals beget well-born children from noble sires" (*Heraclitus*, 7);"If one were to yoke good with bad, no good offspring would be born, but if both parents are good, they will bear noble children" (*Meleager, Fr.* 9).

The early Romans similarly held lineage in great respect and enforced a system of *connubium*, whereby freeborn Romans could only marry into certain approved stocks. However, the Romans were relatively few in number and, when their unparalleled military and administrative ability converted the Roman empire into a fully multi-ethnic community of enormous size, the circumstances became ripe for the rise of egalitarian political ideologies. Rome, the "multicultural giant," disappeared before the onslaught of the smaller, more homogeneous, Germanic nations, which still retained a sense of group identity.

The Germanic peoples (the Germans, Dutch, Flemings, Anglo-Saxons, Franks, Lombards, Scandinavians, Goths, Burgundians and Vandals) who founded so many of the modern states of Europe following the demise of the Roman Empire, carried the concept of heredity to its logical conclusion in their virtually unique system of kinship. Unlike their kinsmen, the Greeks, Italics, Celts, Slavs, and East Balts, they did not organize themselves in patrilineal clans and phratries which recognized only their father's kinfolk, but saw kinship in fully genetic terms. The Germanic "kindred" comprised all the individual's relatives on both the paternal and the maternal sides, assessing the degree of closeness according to the closeness of their actual genetic relationship; this was a quite different system from the concept of patrilineal or matrilineal clans so widespread amongst other peoples of the world. This Germanic kindred was the subject of the exhaustive study *Kindred and Clan in the Middle Ages and After* (Phillpotts 1917). To this day most North Americans of European descent have come to accept the Germanic tradition, where kinship is determined by the closeness of genetic relationship, whether the relatives be on the maternal or paternal side, as distinct from

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patrilineal and matrilineal clan systems.

In ancient Scandinavia the belief in inherited talents was reflected in the concept of *hamingja,* an inherited "luck" force. However, it was recognized that siblings inherited qualities in different patterns, and kings who were "unlucky," and under whose leadership things went badly, were readily replaced by more competent individuals from the same royal lineage that had already produced generations of distinguished and successful leaders. The belief in breeding and the intergenerational transmission of genetic qualities was overriding, or as the old Germanic folk dictum expressed it, one could not make a silk purse out of a sow's ear!

Indeed, most Indo-European peoples, including those who resided outside the geographical borders of Europe, seem to have placed considerable trust in the powers of heredity. Max Weber documented the same emphasis on heredity among other Indo-Europeans. In *The Religion of India* (1958), Weber described the semi-magical *xvarenah* attributed to Indo-Iranian kings as a belief in inherited ability, calling it "familial charisma." The Indian caste system, he maintained, was sustained by a similar belief in the genetic inheritance of human qualities. The charisma of a caste, of a sib, and of a family, was genetically transmitted; its roots were to be found in the concept of inherited ability.

The coming of Christianity plunged classical philosophy into centuries of near-oblivion and clashed with the established and ancient European belief in the *inequality* of men. Spreading first among the slaves and lowest classes of the Roman empire, Christianity came to teach that all men were equal in the eyes of a universal Creator God, an idea that was totally alien to older European thought which had recognized a hierarchy of competence among men – and even among the gods. Opposing the traditions of classical philosophy and scientific enquiry, Christianity introduced the concept of a single, omnipotent "God of History" who controlled all the phenomena of the universe – with men and women being creations of that God. Since all men and women were the "children of God," all were equal before their Divine Maker! Faith in the church's interpretation of supposedly prophetic revelations became more important than scientific or philosophical enquiry; and to question the church's view of reality came to be perceived as sinful.

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However, traditional European convictions as to the significance of heredity never completely died. Heroes, aristocrats and other national leaders had been regarded as superior beings by virtue of their descent from famed heroes or even from the gods, just as the Germanic kings claimed descent from Woden.[2] Kings and nobles were believed to inherit qualities superior to those of the average man, and to carry these qualities in their "blood." In ancient myth heroes might even challenge the gods; and the Christian church, jealous of the "divinity" awarded to kings and nobles by virtue of their lineage,[3] but finding it convenient to win their goodwill, offered them the "divine right" to rule as earthly representatives of the Christian God for so long as they obeyed the wishes of the Church as the representatives of God on Earth. The "divine right" to rule with the church's approval was a very different concept from the "divinity" that came from well-born stock. Consequently, the idea of any disparity in genetic qualities came to be subtly discouraged by the church; and the success of the church was such that by the Middle Ages those who tilled the fields began to ask the rhetorical question: When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the Gentleman?

Stripped of their belief in the significance of human heredity and the notion of the state as a kinship unit – "a family writ large" – and believing instead in the essential equality of all men and women as the children of God, dissident sects espousing radically egalitarian ideals arose at intervals to protest social and economic inequality, especially at times when this became oppressive.

In time, secular political movements also began to assert the idea of biological equality, a theme which tended to be favorably received whenever the disquietude of a divided society erupted into revolution. Such was the case of the Levellers who fought alongside the

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[2] In free, unconquered clans, tribes, and nations, kings were symbolical figures, respected rather like elder brothers, and the English word "king" derives from Anglo-Saxon *cyning,* meaning "[the essence] of the kin."

[3] To mollify the kings, who were now deprived of their claim to superiority based on the distinction of their ancestry, the Catholic Church argued that monarchs who were loyal to the Church had a "divine right to rule" on behalf of God, but only for as long as they recognized the superior moral authority of the Church.

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Parliamentarians in seventeenth century Britain; of the Jacobins, who decimated the accomplished aristocracy of eighteenth century France; and of the Bolsheviks who wrought genocidal slaughter among the more successful members of Czarist Russian society – nobles and peasants alike – following the Bolshevik Revolution in the early twentieth century.[4]

In recent times, calls for political revolution have frequently invoked attacks on "genetic determinism" in favor of the alternate, wildly illogical, philosophy of human "biological egalitarianism." Despite the fact that both Marx and Engels personally believed in the significance of heredity and race – Marx being particularly fond of resorting to some of the more vulgar racist terms to abuse his rivals in correspondence with his friends – the ideological movement that emerged from their teachings eventually yielded to the notion of biological egalitarianism as a necessary ploy to inspire revolutionary passions among members of what they chose to call the proletariat. It was under Stalin, who sought to spread revolution in the Third World against "capitalist imperialism," that communist theoreticians found it convenient to overlook the fact that much economic inequality could be explained by biological inequality: the suggestion that one individual might be inherently more creative or productive than another tended to dampen the feelings of resentment so necessary to incite the masses to revolutionary action.

The Discovery of Evolution and Genetic Science

Yet even while the myth of biological egalitarianism was gaining ground in the Western world, the momentum of scientific inquiry, freed by the Renaissance from the shackles of medieval religious dictates, was deepening man's knowledge about himself and the world around him. In addition, a renewed enthusiasm for the application of selective breeding to plants and animals in the agricultural revolution of the eighteenth century focused enlightened thought

[4] It was in the tradition of their British Puritan forebears, who placed emphasis on the spiritual equality of man under the rule of an all-powerful God of History, that the New England religious thinkers of Eighteenth Century America condemned the more hierarchical, aristocracy-favoring attitudes of the Southern plantation owners.

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once again on the significance of heredity.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Charles Darwin finally restored the concept of heredity to its rightful place with the completion of his epic work, *The Origin of the Species by Means of Natural Selection or the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life* ([1859] 1914). It is of some small interest that his research troubled his deeply religious but loyal wife, because she sensed that it challenged the still dominant pattern of religious thought. Facing the need to defend his overall theory of evolution as applied to all living species, Darwin is described by his biographer, Sir Arthur Keith, as having decided to refrain from extending his evolutionary theory to explain the inequalities between the surviving races of man, which he regarded as being so apparent.[5]

What Darwin found it necessary to avoid, so inundated was he with criticism of his claim that mankind as a whole had evolved from "lower" forms of life, his half-cousin Sir Francis Galton did not hesitate to tackle. Indeed, Galton established the science of statistics as he sought to apply mathematics to the study of inheritance. In his own way, Galton was quite as great a contributor to evolving science as was Darwin, for apart from the attention he directed to the need to study heredity, he not only laid the foundations for the science of meteorology, but together with his close friend, co-worker, and biographer Karl Pearson, he established the basic techniques of modern statistical methods and quite literally founded the science of *eugenics.* The goal of eugenics, a word created by Galton from the Greek *eugēnes* ("well born"), was to apply scientific knowledge about heredity to the problem of human evolution in order to combat deleterious demographic trends which threatened to lead to a decline of genetic quality in modern societies. In Galton's own words, the purpose of genetic science was "to give the more suitable races or strains of blood a better chance of prevailing speedily over the less suitable." Significantly he described eugenics as "that science which deals with all influences that improve the inborn qualities of a race; also with those that develop them to the utmost advantage" (1909, 35). In short, Galton realized that nature and nurture work in

[5] See *Darwin Revalued*, by Sir Arthur Keith. 1955. Watts & Co., London.

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tandem and are not to be seen as mutually exclusive opponents. Heredity was important, but so was a healthy and congenial environment.

Using mathematical techniques to demonstrate the role of genetics in shaping mankind, Galton argued that it was scientifically possible to increase the frequency of desirable qualities among human beings, and to prevent the spread of deleterious qualities, by eugenic measures, and the idea quickly attracted the favorable attention of most serious scholars following the publication of his epoch-making study *Hereditary Genius: An Inquiry into Its Laws and Consequences* (1869). This seminal text was followed by *Natural Inheritance* (1889) and *Essays in Eugenics* (1909).

It is on record that Darwin was impressed by his cousin's work on *Hereditary Genius*. In a letter dated December 3, 1869 Darwin commended Galton on his "memorable work," stating that "I do not think I ever in my whole life read anything more interesting and original – and how well and clearly you put every point – You have made a convert." Two years later, in chapter seven of *The Descent of Man,* he developed Galton's observations concerning the differences between human races, noting that:

> ... the various races, when carefully compared and measured, differ much from each other – as in the texture of hair, the relative proportions of all parts of the body, the capacity of the lungs, the form and capacity of the skull, and even the convolutions of the brain. But it would be an endless task to specify the numerous points of difference. The races differ also in constitution, in acclimatization and in liability to certain diseases. Their mental characteristics are likewise very distinct; chiefly as it would appear in their emotion, but partly in their intellectual faculties. Everyone who has had the opportunity of comparison, must have been struck by the contrast between taciturn, even morose aborigines of S. America and the light-hearted talkative negroes."

Thus both Darwin and Galton came to the same conclusion, expressed by Galton as follows:

> It is in the most unqualified manner that I object to pretensions

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> of natural equality. The experiences of the nursery, the school, the university, and of professional careers, are a chain of proofs to the contrary ... In whatever way we may test ability, we arrive at equally enormous intellectual differences.

Galton's younger colleague, Karl Pearson, developed Galton's novel statistical techniques to new levels of effectiveness, laying the foundations of modern scientific method in his publication *The Grammar of Science* (1892). Like Galton, Pearson realized that the genetic legacy each generation leaves to its successors is of prime importance for the future of mankind. Every generation, in fact, is a bottle-neck which sifts and determines which genes are to survive. Pearson delineated the fundamentals of the new field of eugenic science in a number of publications, including *National Life from the Standpoint of Science* (1905), *Nature and Nurture: The Problem of the Future* (1910). He expressed his concern for the genetic future of the British nation in a warning to his fellow-Britons in his Huxley Memorial Lecture of 1903:

> "the mentally better stock in the nation is not reproducing itself at the same rate as of old – the less able and the less energetic are the more fertile ... The psychical characters which are the backbone of a State in the modern struggle of nations are not so much manufactured by home and school and college; they are bred in the bone, and for the last forty years the intellectual classes of the nation, enervated by wealth or by love of pleasure, or following an erroneous standard of life, have ceased to give in due proportion the men wanted to carry on the ever-growing work of the Empire." (Pearson, 1903)

Early Eugenics in Britain

Any people who recognize the significance of heredity must naturally think in terms of breeding. Once science had revalidated the concept of heredity in the Western world, the reaction in favor of extending the principles by which the quality of plants and animals had been improved to human beings was natural. The conditions of life in modern society seemed to be reversing natural selection and

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lowering the quality of each succeeding human generation. Support for the eugenic ideal quickly came from a wide range of varied intellectuals, including not only traditionalists who had always retained their belief in good breeding combined with good training, but also progressive thinkers. Those who cared for the unfortunates of this world saw how simply much human suffering could be eliminated in future generations by eugenic policies, and socialists such as George Bernard Shaw, whose *Man and Superman* (1965, p. 159) (essentially an ode to the inborn instinct to procreate the race) complained of contemporary society that "being cowards, we defeat natural selection under cover of philanthropy." H. G. Wells, another reformer who likewise cared for posterity, proclaimed that "the children people bring into the world can be no more their private concern entirely, than the disease germs they disseminate" (Kevles, 92). Others who supported the eugenic ideal were the youthful J. Maynard Keynes; left-leaning Julian Huxley, who sought not revolution but the reduction of human suffering by genetic improvement; and J. B. S. Haldane, who adopted Marxist values but always opposed its anti-hereditarian extremes. Numerous other social reformers of that time, such as Sidney and Beatrice Webb, likewise embraced the eugenic ideal – they were patriotic in the tradition of William Morris and Charles Dickens and eschewed revolutionary socialism, but feared emerging capitalism as a threat to the traditional bliss of agrarian England, and felt that much misery could be eliminated by rearing fit and healthy children rather than those who were burdened by genetic handicaps.

Also joining the eugenics cause was the ardent advocate of social change, Havelock Ellis, who supported the call for female liberation but emphasized the essential role that women played in ensuring the future of the race. Ellis (1912 pps., 46–47, 205) declared that the aims of eugenics "could only be attained with the realization of the woman movement in its latest and completest phase as an enlightened culture of motherhood." The new St. Valentine, he observed, would be a scientific saint, not one of folklore, because marriage should be for the procreation and health of the race, not merely for personal pleasure. Scholars and politicians alike

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applauded the new sense of responsibility in procreation,[6] with diverse figures such as the Cambridge biologist Francis Maitland Balfour, founder of the British school of evolutionary biologists, British Prime Minister Arthur James Balfour,[7] and the young politician Winston Churchill, all paying homage to the eugenic ideal.

Galton, childless himself, applied his personal fortune toward the promotion of research into heredity and eugenics, funding the establishment of a biometrics laboratory at the University of London under the direction of his fellow-eugenicist Karl Pearson, for the primary purpose of studying heredity in man. He also helped finance the establishment of the Eugenics Education Society, which later changed its name to the more simple Eugenics Society. Patriotic Englishmen who feared a dysgenic trend in national ability eagerly supported the eugenic doctrine that the fittest, most intelligent and creative parents should be encouraged to have larger families. In this, they were joined by Fabian socialists, who sought to decrease what was seen to be an excessive rate of reproduction among the genetically unfortunate, so as to "level up" society instead of "leveling it down" – which latter was the usual outcome of revolutionary socialism.

Possibly it was Julian Huxley who best summed up the confidence with which so many British academics who lived during the first half of this century viewed the future, when he wrote (1941, p. 22):

> Once the full implications of evolutionary biology are grasped,

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[6] The eleventh edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* stated in its entry under "civilization" that future human progress would include "the organic betterment of the race through wise application of the laws of heredity."

[7] Balfour was the prime minister of Britain (1902–05) and foreign secretary (1916–19) who favored Anglo-American "Anglo-Saxon solidarity" and also made the Balfour Declaration promising a national home for the Jewish people. He delivered the inaugural address at the first International Eugenics Congress, which was held in England in 1912. Cosponsors of that Congress included Winston Churchill, Alexander Graham Bell, Charles William Eliot (a former president of Harvard University), and the Bishop of Ripon (in England). It was attended by 750 people.

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> eugenics will inevitably become part of religion of the future, or whatever complex of sentiments may in future take the place of organized religion. It is not merely a sane outlet for human altruism, but is of all outlets for altruism that which is most comprehensive and of longest range.

In all honesty, although it would seem difficult to envisage his prophecy becoming a reality in any foreseeable date in the Western world, tendencies in Mainland China, and in the Chinese republic of Singapore, strongly indicate that it may be the billion-plus Chinese people who first realize Huxley's dream of the future.

The Eugenic Ideal Finds Favor in America

Scientific ideas are seldom confined to one country in the modern world, except where political suppression enters onto the scene, as in Marxist Russia, and although it was in England that the concepts of evolution and eugenics first saw light, European and American scholars soon responded. We will not here attempt to cover the continental scene, although scholars such as Ernest Haeckel, who became an ardent advocate of Darwinian evolution, seeing nations as potentially incipient races and the major racial divisions of mankind as virtually separate species, undoubtedly influenced the English-speaking world. At this time the determination of what constituted a species had not yet come to be linked to the concept of mutual inter-fertility, but was judged purely by the extent of phenotypical variation, as in the Linnaean system of classification still broadly accepted by biologists today. Consistent with such views, Haeckel and others began to urge not only eugenic breeding but also racial purity.

The concept of a new eugenic science was also welcomed in the United States, which shared the same traditional appreciation of the role of heredity held by those Europeans who had remained behind in Europe. At the turn of the century, the United States was still a land of opportunity, yet one which had already acquired a sense of nationhood, so that many of its most important families had developed a profound social conscience and a strong desire to ensure that the hopes they held for the well-being of their descendants, as Americans, would be realized. Idealists such as president Theodore Roosevelt were convinced that the existing American population

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possessed generally superior genetic qualities, shaped by severe selective evolution over the previous generations. Their forebears had been adventurous individuals who had first elected to undertake, and then survived, what was in earlier centuries a dangerous ocean crossing. After arrival in the New World, they had to protect themselves and their families from the depredations of the native Indian tribes who had the advantage of familiarity with the local environment. While doing this, they had to tame vast primeval forests and grassland wildernesses – something Europeans had not seen since their forebears first began to convert the forests of Europe into the rich but increasingly overpopulated farmlands of civilized agrarian and mercantile culture. Thus a century and a half ago, Ralph Waldo Emerson reflected the views of his countrymen when he wrote that: "Where the race is right, the place is right".[8]

Americans at that time did not think of their country as a potential microcosm of all humanity, but as an emerging micro-race of predominantly European origin. President Theodore Roosevelt, credited with advancing the "melting pot" ideology, wanted only quality immigrants from ethnic stocks which would readily assimilate into the "Old American" population – a term used to refer to persons descended from Europeans who had settled in North America prior to the War Between the States. While the British eugenicists were primarily concerned with maintaining the breeding quality of the resident population of the British Isles, Americans also debated the question of immigration, since they instinctively knew that immigrants affect what we would today call the national gene pool quite as significantly as differential selection within that pool.

Like Theodore Roosevelt, eugenicists felt that the new America must remain a vital and homogeneous nation. But, Roosevelt strongly believed that the Old Americans were not producing enough children, and that they must either change their ways or submit to an invasion of non-white peoples, most likely from Asia. Selected immigration from Europe was welcome, but those who would not fit in were not wanted. Immigrants should match the genetic character of the

[8] The Complete Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Wm. Wise & Co. New York. 1929. p.441

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existing population, and, to ensure this, most favored the restriction of immigration to the nations from which the predominantly North European pioneers who had built the United States had been drawn. The eugenic ideal matched perfectly the optimistic, forward-looking spirit of the people of the United States as they entered the twentieth century (although Roosevelt was fearful that those who advocated negative eugenics might discourage large families). But when eugenicists looked at increasing Asian and Hispanic immigration, some feared that the "great race" – as eugenicist and conservationist Madison Grant (1924) described those whose ancestors had pioneered the establishment of European civilization in North America – might be drowned by hordes of immigrants from Asia and Central America, too numerous to be assimilable, if it failed to defend its coasts and increase its own rate of reproduction. Madison Grant's own ancestors, it might be noted, had come to the American colonies from Scotland following the failure of the 1745 Highland uprising led by Bonnie Prince Charlie. His writings were therefore well received by a generation of proud, self-confident, and essentially prosperous Old Americans who wished to see their lovely country remain in the hands of their own kind, and who like the Greeks of old treasured the memory of the achievements of their forebears. American scholars, wealthy self-made industrialists, farmers, and even politicians saw the eugenic ideal as a means of ensuring the future well-being and happiness of the new nation to which they were proud to belong. Indeed, it was those who could claim to be Old Americans who gathered most enthusiastically in support of the eugenic cause.

The hopes of the eugenicists were raised in 1910 by the establishment of the Cold Spring Harbor Eugenics Record Office by the Carnegie Institute of Washington. This was funded by Mrs. Mary Harriman,[8] the widow of E. H. Harriman, whose forebears left

[8] "In October 1910 Mrs. E. H. Harriman established the Eugenics Record Office at Cold Spring Harbor, purchased a farm of about 80 acres with buildings near the Station for Experimental Evolution, and in 1913 erected a special office building. On January 1, 1918, Mrs. Harriman transferred the office and farm to the Institution and provided an endowment fund of $300,000 toward its maintenance" (Davenport 1923).

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England for America in the seventeenth century. The director was Charles B. Davenport, the Harvard zoologist who was twice president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), as well as president of the American Zoological Society. The superintendent was Harry H. Laughlin, a leading light in the eugenics movement which flourished in America during the first half of the present century.

The distinguished inventor, Alexander Graham Bell, figured prominently among the members of the Board of Scientific Directors established to support the work of the Eugenics Record Office. In a letter to Davenport, dated December 27, 1912, Bell revealed himself as a "mainstream" eugenicist who believed in "positive eugenics," which aimed at increasing the percentage of healthy and talented individuals in succeeding generations, rather than in "negative eugenics," the term commonly ascribed to measures designed to prevent the spread of deleterious genes. In light of the somewhat limited development of genetic and medical science at that time, and the heavily dysgenic impact of two World Wars which were shortly to follow, his observations reflect the perspicacity of a scientist whose name will live forever in history as a major contributor to technological progress and as a benefactor of the human race. Bell attended eugenics conventions, and himself authored several papers on eugenics, such as his essay entitled "How to Improve the Race," which appeared in the January 1914 issue of the *Journal of Heredity,* edited by Paul Popenoe.

The Galton Society – formed in New York in 1918 at the American Museum of Natural History by Henry Fairfield Osborn, C. B. Davenport, and Madison Grant – became actively involved in endeavors to shape U.S. policy relating to population quality. Spontaneous eugenics societies were established in many American cities, and hopes for a bright future for eugenics and future generations were raised when in 1923 (due largely to the efforts of Alexander Graham Bell, Luther Burbank and Charles B. Davenport) the American Eugenics Society was established, with branches in numerous American cities. With the foundation of the Society, the eugenics movement began to take shape in a businesslike manner, placing heavy emphasis on the participation of scholars as scientific advisors on various advisory committees. Other eugenics

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organizations proliferated at this time, among which were the Eugenics Research Association, the International Federation of Eugenic Organizations, the American Social Hygiene Association, and even such bodies as the American Genetics Association, and the American Association for the Study of Human Heredity. Eugenicists were kept informed of new developments in science through a publication the *Eugenical News*.

Devoted to the well-being of their young nation, many of the early American eugenicists were proud to claim to be of Old American stock.[9] The term "Old American" was further popularized by the book of the same name, compiled by the anthropologist Aleš Hrdlička. Hrdlička was himself a recent European immigrant, of Bohemian origin, who had accompanied his father to America at the age of fourteen and, after working in a cigar factory as a teenager, had entered the Eclectic Medical College of New York and graduated with an M.D. at the top of his class. Hrdlička practiced medicine for a while but soon found his interest turning to the problem of human quality and the significance of racial differences, which he saw in an evolutionary context. Traveling extensively to study the diverse living peoples of the world, as well as paleontological remains, he emerged as America's leading physical anthropologist, serving as editor of *The American Journal of Physical Anthropology* (which he founded in 1918), and as first president of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists. Significantly he found nothing wrong in the historical pride of his new compatriots, and served for many years on the American Eugenics Society subcommittee on anthropometry and on the advisory council, being deeply concerned, as an expert on evolution, with the threat of dysgenics (of a deterioration in genetic stock) facing modern man. In his article "Race Deterioration and Destruction with Special Reference to the American People,"

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[9] Aleš Hrdlička's *Old Americans* (1925) comprised a detailed anthropometric study, accompanied by photographs, of individuals who were in general descended wholly from not less than three generations of persons born in the United States, thus representing the descendants of settlers who had arrived in the North American continent prior to the War Between the States, and in many cases prior to the War of Independence.

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published by the Race Betterment Foundation of Battle Creek, Michigan as part of the Proceedings of the Third Race Betterment Conference held on January 2–6, 1928, Hrdlička defined "race deterioration" as "the degradation of its standards of mentality and effectiveness, generally attended also by the lowering of those of physique" (p. 82). "Race destruction," another threat with which he was concerned, meant the loss of racial identity either "through complete submergence into another race" (p. 82) or simply by failure to reproduce itself.

History, Hrdlička noted, recorded the rise and fall of nations. Vital, healthy nations tended to rise, but nations could also fall when, weakened by luxury and the exhaustion of ambition, they suffered a "dilution of the physical as well as mental status by admixture with poorer blood" (p. 83). He observed (pp. 84–85):

> There are still some benevolent minds who would like to see all men, white and black, potentially equal. Yet they will hold that there are differences between one family and another family, and even between the children of the same family, in the same racial group. If they did not, there would obviously be no use for eugenics ... no use even for much of genetics and biology. As a matter of fact there are similarities but no absolute equality anywhere in living nature, either in races, or families or even individuals. The problem is merely how great in a given case is the dissimilarity. Races, especially the further distant ones ... are not equipotential, or equally effective, or able ...

The Race Betterment Foundation, which sponsored the conference at which Hrdlička presented these views, was first established in 1906 as the American Medical Missionary Board (but soon changed its name to the Race Betterment Foundation). Its founder was John Harvey Kellogg, a descendant of an Englishman named Joseph Kellogg who had arrived in North America as early as 1651. Kellogg, who launched the breakfast cereals industry by introducing granola to the American public as a health food, was chief surgeon at the then world-famous Battle Creek Sanitorium.

Publishing a journal called *Good Health,* the Race Betterment Foundation became a major center of the new eugenics movement in

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America. Kellogg himself was an important and respected figure who authored numerous medical and eugenics treatises, and his circle of influence extended to several successful businessmen including J. C. Penney and C. W. Barron, whose names remain familiar to this day. Another member of the Kellogg family, Vernon Lyman Kellogg, a zoologist of international repute, also espoused the eugenics movement. As a personal friend of President Herbert Hoover, he served on various national health and agricultural committees, becoming a trustee of the young Brookings Institute and of the Rockefeller Foundation while continuously taking an active role in the eugenics movement as the latter grew in size and influence.

The movement was also early supported by famed educator David Starr Jordan, first president of Stanford University.[10] Jordan's first American ancestor had arrived in the North American colonies from England circa 1700. Jordan's status in the American education scene of his day is illustrated by the fact that he was a trustee of the Carnegie Foundation and president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the National Educational Association, and the California and Indiana Academies of Science, as well as vice president of the Eugenics Education Society in Britain. In the opinion of the present writer, his major contribution to eugenic thought was the emphasis he placed on the dysgenic effect of modern warfare in such books as *War and the Breed* (1915). Charles William Eliot, president of Harvard University, trustee of the Carnegie Institution of New York, and one of the most eminent educators in America, also rallied to the eugenic crusade, as did astronomer William Wallace Campbell, president of the University of California, whose Scottish forebears had migrated to the colonies in the eighteenth century. Livingston Farrand, president of the University

[10] Jordan realized, just as World War I was breaking out in Europe, that modern warfare exercised a severely dysgenic influence on participant nations, and World War I certainly proved him true. He wrote several books on the subject, his *War and the Breed* (first reprinted in 1981 and available from Cliveden Press, Washington D.C.) being published in 1915, the second year of World War I when young men, the cream of European youth, were dying by the millions in France and Belgium, mostly too young to have married and left offspring.

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of Colorado and subsequently president of Cornell University, chairman of the central committee of the International Red Cross, and editor of the *American Journal of Public Health,* similarly espoused the eugenics movement, as did innumerable other educators and faculty members of note.

American paleontologists and anthropologists were also generally enthusiastic. Another leading anthropologist who served on the American Eugenics Society subcommittee on anthropometry was Earnest A. Hooton, the respected Harvard professor who later became director of the Peabody Museum. Hooton's father had been born in England, and Hooton himself attended Oxford University on a Rhodes scholarship. Returning to America, where he became one of the main pioneers of physical anthropology, Hooton was an active member of the American Genetics Association and the Galton Society. He saw eugenics in terms of different levels of human evolution, and strongly believed that different inherited personalities contributed to susceptibility to engage in criminal behavior. Hooton collated data on some seventeen thousand criminals, and took a keen interest in the effects of race mixing. His *Up from the Ape* (1931), *Apes, Men and Morons* (1937) argued that heredity was at least as important as environment as a determinant of human behavior.

Most scholars who were in any way connected with the study of evolution came to see races as representing different levels of human evolutionary development. Ellsworth Huntington, a Yale geologist descended from one, Simon Huntington, who had emigrated from England to the colonies in 1633, was at one time or another president of the Association of American Geographers, president of the Ecological Society of America, director of the Population Association of America, member of the American Eugenics Society advisory council and chairman of its Committee on Biologic Genealogy.[11] A widely traveled scholar, Huntington expressed his fear that the more advanced human stocks would likely be overrun by the less advanced,

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[11] Huntington became deeply immersed in the eugenics movement and in his book *Tomorrow's Children* (1935, 72–73), he observed that "[i]t is hard to see how a perfect eugenic system can prevail until every intelligent married couple is able to have as many children as it wishes without lowering its economic status."

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and, as a prolific author (he wrote no less than twenty books and several hundred articles), his views reached a broad audience of educated men and women.

Biologists were naturally prominent among those who recognized the role of heredity in human affairs, and many adopted the eugenics cause. Notable amongst these was H. S. Jennings of The Johns Hopkins University, himself of Old American stock, who wrote several influential books on the subject: notably *Prometheus or Biology and the Advancement of Man* (1925), which forecast a bright future for mankind through the application of eugenic policies, and *The Biological Basis of Human Nature* (1930). Jennings was president of the American Society of Zoologists and the American Society of Naturalists, as well as a member of the advisory committee of the American Eugenics Society.

Psychologists who were interested in intelligence also tended to become involved with the new ideal of population improvement. R. M. Yerkes, a descendant of Anthony Yerkes who had come to America from Holland in 1700, became an influential member of the American Eugenics Society and the Galton Society. A professor of psychology at Harvard, Yerkes is particularly known for his mammoth World War I study of the IQ ratings of one and three-quarter million U.S. military recruits, compiled while he was head of the psychology division of the office of the United States Surgeon General. Yerkes's concern with the different qualities of individuals and races led him to become active in the matter of immigration control, and he was elected chairman of the Committee on Human Migration in 1922. Leaving Washington to take a professorship at Yale, Yerkes recognized the potential for sociobiological studies in helping to explain human behavior, and in 1929 he founded the Laboratory of Primate Biology in Florida for this purpose. He also served as chairman of both the American Psychological Association (1916) and the American Society of Naturalists (1938). Carl C. Brigham, professor of psychology at Princeton University and author of *A Study of American Intelligence* (1923) was another member of the American Eugenics Society who became involved in immigration control, seeking to ensure that the American gene pool would not be adulterated by inferior genes, and was a keen member of the Galton Society and the Eugenics Research Association.

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Possibly the most influential of the early psychologists who were active in the eugenics movement was William McDougall. Born in England, and educated at the universities of Cambridge and Göttingen, McDougall taught at Oxford University before eventually emigrating to the U.S. to take up a position at Harvard. With his experience of anthropological work in Borneo, McDougall was a fellow of the prestigious Royal Society in Britain and the author of numerous major textbooks which earned him preeminence in the field of social psychology. His respect for heredity showed itself in a series of books, beginning with *An Introduction to Social Psychology* (1908). Acutely conscious of the role of heredity in shaping human behavior, McDougall was an evolutionist who realized that human behavior was shaped by the evolutionary past of the human race. Because of the significant degree of racial diversity within the living peoples of the world, he prophesied that "racial psychology" would one day become a recognized field of study. As a believer in the quality of the North European stock relative to diverse other populations in the contemporary world, McDougall also took an interest in the composition of the future population of America: his book *Is America Safe for Democracy?* (1926) stressed the need for a selective immigration policy which would ensure that the United States remained a relatively homogeneous nation, and the need to design a truly scientific eugenic policy.

Of equal significance, however, was Lewis Madison Terman, president of the American Psychological Association and of the National Academy of Sciences. Terman authored a number of popular books on psychology, sex, and mental health, but is academically best known for his revision of the Binet Scale (1916), his co-authorship of the Stanford Achievement Tests, and his massive four-volume *Genetic Studies of Genius* (1926–30). Terman was a major voice in the eugenics movement, and was a key member of the Eugenics Society committee on psychometry.

Notable sociologists also rallied to the logic of eugenics. Franklin H. Giddings, author of several major works in early American sociology, professor of sociology at Bryn Mawr College, later chairman of the sociology department at Columbia University and president of the American Sociological Society, was a strong supporter of the eugenics movement who helped organize some of

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the first international conferences on eugenics and population. Giddings was descended from George Giddings who came to the colonies from England as early as 1635. Frank H. Hankins, a Columbia University educated sociologist who taught at Clark and Smith Colleges, was an active member of the board of directors of the American Eugenics Society. President of the American Sociological Society, and of the later-formed Population Association of America, Hankins authored a penetrating study entitled *The Racial Basis of Civilization* (1926).

Another sociologist who firmly believed in the importance of heredity was Robert M. MacIver, a Scottish immigrant who had been born in Stornaway on the isle of Harris. Well known for his many sociology texts, MacIver taught at Barnard College and Columbia University, and later was president of the New School for Social Research, which did not prevent it from later becoming identified with leftist views. A dedicated humanist, MacIver recognized the importance of good heredity and enthusiastically served on the board of the American Eugenics Society.

Another realist was the renowned sociologist and social psychologist, Emory Stephen Bogardus, who likewise served on the American Eugenics Society advisory council. A professor at the University of Southern California, Bogardus edited the *Journal of Sociology and Social Research* for over forty years, was founder and editor of the *Journal of Applied Sociology,* and a contributing editor to the *Journal of Social Forces* and the *Journal of Educational Psychology.* He authored numerous textbooks which were widely used and his *Development of Social Thought* (1960), written toward the end of his life, remained a classic survey of the history of sociology right into the fourth quarter of the present century. Less remembered today is his *Immigration and Race Attitudes* (1928), which more clearly shows his personal convictions on the importance of an understanding of heredity to the shaping of national policies.

The common cause between liberals and the traditionalists who both initially welcomed eugenics eventually became somewhat strained over the question of the feminist movement. This was not because the traditionalists despised women, but because they saw the outcome of the feminist movement differently. In general, the liberals favored "negative eugenics," the reduction of the excessively

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large number of births among the less favored, while the traditionalists tended to think in terms of the competition between nations and races, and favored "positive eugenics," which sought to encourage a higher rate of reproduction among the better stock.

Women made up an appropriately high proportion of those who attended eugenics lectures in both America and England, showing a proper concern for the future of the children they bore and the nation they nourished. Consequently, feminists such as Margaret Sanger, who for eugenic reasons wanted to make contraceptives equally available to the poor as to the middle and upper income groups, agreed with eugenicist Margaret Stopes when the latter proclaimed: "[m]ore children from the fit, less from the unfit – that is the chief issue of birth control" (Hall 1977). Traditionalists such as the British eugenicists W. C. D. and C. D. Whetham, authors of *The Family and the Nation: A Study in Natural Inheritance and Family Responsibility* (1909), while agreeing with the female liberationists in that statement, nevertheless feared that feminism and the entry of the more intelligent women into the professions would reduce the birth rate among precisely those women who should be having more children: "Woe to the nation whose best women refuse their natural and most glorious burden," they wrote, warning that "freedom from marriage and reproduction ... is suicidal" (pp. 198–99).

Today, the birth rate in the Western and other more advanced nations of the world, and the massive ongoing population explosion in the Third World, have rendered the views of these traditionalist eugenicists prophetic. Even the Singaporeans, who are not a Third World nation, have noted the low birth rate among the more intelligent and educated of their womenfolk. As Leonard Darwin, Charles Darwin's son, a leading supporter of the British Eugenics Education Society and the British *Eugenics Review*, warned in 1927, the spread of birth control devices has been "racially devastating" to the more advanced countries. Sir Charles Galton Darwin, grandson of the renowned evolutionist and one of the early editorial board members of *The Mankind Quarterly*, also stressed the threat of overpopulation – arising from reduced infant mortality in the Third World as a result of modern medical advances – in his book *The Next Million Years* (1951) and in his 1960 *Mankind Quarterly* article "World Population: Can Man Control His Numbers?"

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Nevertheless in the early decades of this century, both in America and in Britain, there was a generally happy overlap of interest on the subject of eugenics between leading liberals, who espoused negative eugenics aimed at discouraging the genetically defective from procreating, and traditionalists such as Leonard Darwin and Coldstream Guards officer C. P. Blacker, who generally supported positive eugenics and who were more concerned that the talented and healthy should be sure to pass on their genes to future generations. This political overlap was matched by a softening of the attitude of the Church, and the Bishop of Ripon urged the greater procreation of the fit in order to populate the British dominions overseas. The same moderation of attitude toward eugenics among the more progressive churchmen was also to be found in America. As Rudolph M. Binder wrote in his article "Eugenics and Religion," in the *Eugenical News*:

> There has always been a double line in theological reasoning. One holds that God is not only omnipotent but controls absolutely everything; and all the various phenomena in the universe, including human activities are but manifestations of his power. This theory is best known by the term "predestination," and would imply that ... any attempt at contraception is an interference with the will of God. Hence, the opposition to eugenics which, while primarily concerned with the increase of good stock, is at least indirectly opposed to the propagation of poor stock.
>
> This theological theory has gradually yielded to a more ethical conception of the deity. The omnipotence of God is less emphasized than His love. And the new theory permits a different interpretation of man. He has some liberty, he is held responsible for his acts, he is praised for his good actions as a co-worker with God and blamed for his bad ones.

With various other religious leaders such as Dean Inge of St. Paul's Cathedral supporting eugenics, the years between 1900 and the early 1930s were generally marked by a happy collaboration among those who truly desired to improve the conditions of life for future generations of human beings.

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The More Advanced Countries Adopt Eugenics Laws

Today, continuing and rapid progress in genetic science holds out the promise that gene 'splicing' or genetic 'surgery' may make the elimination of many hereditary defects a real possibility in the foreseeable future. If individual deleterious genes can be replaced by healthy counterparts so that future generations can inherit all the desirable qualities of their forebears free from adverse mutations and other heritable disabling conditions, one of the major dreams of eugenicists will have been realized. Of course, this will not solve the entire eugenic problem, for although it is easy to repair a disabled Rolls Royce by replacing a leaking hosepipe or other defective part, it is not practicable to attempt to convert a Yugo or Lada into a Rolls Royce by replacing a major number of parts: not only is the task too large, but also many of the Rolls Royce parts would be *incompatible with those of the inferior vehicle. The justification for* "positive" or "mainline" eugenics – the encouragement of an appropriate rate of reproduction among overall healthy and competent individuals – would still remain.

However, in the early decades of the twentieth century, although the consciousness of responsibility for the well-being of posterity ran high, genetic engineering was still hopelessly out of reach, and eugenicists knew that if the members of their generation were to pass on their genetic heritage to posterity in at least as good a condition as they had received it, it was necessary to avoid an undue proliferation of deleterious genes and to ensure the transmission of at least an undiminished percentage of the more desirable genes. It was obvious to the more conscientious that modern conditions of life had undermined nature's own methods of preserving the quality of the human stock in those populations that had emerged from a feral state of life and had advanced into what they so proudly called a "civilized" existence. Something had to be done to block the dysgenic trends that were weakening the quality of the population in the more technologically advanced nations. Native tribes living in the Amazon were still subject to nature's pruning knife and did not yet face these dysgenic trends, but they too, as their lifestyle became "modernized," were likely in the course of time to face the same dysgenic influences.

As a result, the more responsible members of the advanced Western nations, conscious of their duty to the well-being of future

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generations, came to press for eugenic laws, and the majority of the more enlightened nations of the West introduced some such kind of legislation. Some might argue today that they should have waited until genetic science had advanced to the level where genetic "surgery" had become a real possibility, but the immediacy of the dysgenic threat introduced by modern conditions did not permit the luxury of delay. The entire genetic potential of future generations was going to be restricted to whatever collation of genes those who were living in the early decades of the twentieth century passed on to their heirs. Eugenicists realized that the future genotype of a nation depends on the reproductive activity of each successive generation, and the massive dysgenic impact of modern warfare, combined with the emergence of disproportionate rates of reproduction between the fit and the unfit, indicated that there was no time to be lost.

In consequence, virtually all the more enlightened nations of the Western world decided to introduce eugenic laws intended to control the reckless spread of deleterious genes. With this objective in mind, eugenic laws were introduced in Denmark, Norway, Finland, Sweden, Lithuania, Estonia, Iceland and a number of Swiss cantons. Germany introduced similar laws and has been much criticized for this, but so also did Austria, Hungary, Italy, Greece, and Spain. Britain, which had largely pioneered the eugenics movement and was suffering from the decimation of its leadership class in World War I, did not get around to following suit. Even outside Europe, there were countries such as Argentina, Chile, Peru, Brazil where laws covering hereditary mental pathologies, hereditary feeblemindedness and serious hereditary physical pathologies were enacted.

It is of some interest that these legislative measures, designed to protect future generations, were largely pioneered by the United States; U.S. legislation being copied by many of the other countries, including Germany. By 1931 twenty-seven of the forty-eight states of the U.S. had eugenics laws on their statute books, and no less than thirty states in all passed such laws at one time or another. In addition, many states had statutes prohibiting miscegenation, on the theory that the scrambling together of separate gene pools created by nature might be dysgenic. In Canada, both British Columbia and Alberta adopted similar laws, and it seemed probable that in the course of time all the leading nations of the West would eventually

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take steps intended to free their future populations from the dysgenic threat already so apparent. Responsible individuals were confident that advancing scientific knowledge would eventually enable man to take the evolutionary steering tiller out of the hands of nature, and enable posterity – inspired by a high moral vision – to chart a rational course to a far happier future than any to which primitive man could possibly have dreamed to aspire. Julian Huxley's prophecy seemed about to be fulfilled.

Eugenicists as Conservationists

To truly appreciate the social conscience of those who supported the eugenics ideal it is revealing to note that those who most desired to preserve the genetic quality of the human population were also anxious to conserve all else that was wonderful in the world of nature. Indeed, it was those who sought to conserve the genetic heritage of mankind who pioneered the conservationist movement – seeking to preserve the rich variety of plant and animal species that nature had bequeathed to the care of man.

Possibly the most notable figure in this conservationist movement was Gifford Pinchot, a grandson of one of Napoleon's generals. A respected and popular figure who had the honor of having Mount Pinchot named after him, Pinchot was a professor of forestry at Yale who was twice elected governor of Pennsylvania and who combined his services to the environment with an active engagement in the eugenics movement. But the list of eugenicists who were active in the conservation movement is a long one: to cite just a few examples, the foundation of the American Bison Society was largely due to the work of eugenicist Madison Grant, and the Save-the-Redwoods League owed its existence to eugenicists Madison Grant, the aforementioned Henry Fairfield Osborn, and the distinguished scholar John Campbell Merriam (president of the American Paleontological Society, the Carnegie Foundation of Washington and the Geological Society). Despite a very full calendar, Merriam, who was proud of his father's "Old American" ancestry and his mother's Scottish ancestry, distinguished himself as an extremely active president of the Save-the-Redwoods League, while seldom missing a meeting of the Galton Society or the Eugenics Advisory Council.

With the support of Theodore Roosevelt, eugenicists Madison

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Grant and Henry Fairfield Osborn founded the New York Zoological Society in 1893, where animals could roam freely in conditions similar to their natural habitat instead of being confined to cramped cages. Irving Fisher of Yale, president of the Eugenics Research Association in the 1920s, was a member of Theodore Roosevelt's National Conservation Commission in 1919. Antioch College President Arthur Ernest Morgan, a civil engineer by profession, was another keen eugenicist who supported the conservation movement. Botanist and eugenicist James Arthur Harris, of "Old American" English stock, a student of Karl Pearson in London and winner of the Weldon Medal (named after the noted English eugenicist), was also an ardent conservationist, and served as president of the American Society of Naturalists. Perhaps even more typical of the academic naturalist and eugenicist of the day was Francis B. Sumner, a sociologist who began teaching at City College, New York, became director of the laboratory of the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, and then moved to the University of California, La Jolla. Sumner combined his various duties as chairman of Section F of the AAAS and president of the Western Society of Naturalists with active membership of the American Genetics Association and the Save-the- Redwoods League.

It is only logical that eugenicists should be ardent conservationists: the humanitarian idealism of the first decades of the twentieth century was the natural outcome of discerning and cultured men and women who were prepared to devote their lives to obstructing the tide of biological destruction which was already beginning to sweep America, damaging both the human and the non-human genetic heritage alike. These were people who deemed it their duty to leave the world a better place than they had found it – or if that were not possible, at least as good a place as previous generations had left it. Eugenicists, after all is said and done, are conservationists first and last, and there are few eugenicists who do not care about the survival of a rich legacy of flora and fauna in a healthy environment as a logical extension of their concern that the earth should be in the care of persons capable of appreciating its qualities and conserving these for future generations. The historical record shows that they put superhuman effort into their struggle as conservationists, both with respect to plants and animals as well as to humans, and much of what in fact has survived to the present day is

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a result of their efforts.

The success of the conservationist movement in the United States at this vital period in the nation's history was facilitated by the sympathy of President Theodore Roosevelt, who was deeply concerned about the threat to the quality of both the natural and human stock of America. The contemporary generation of "Old American" pioneering origin, he held, were guilty of committing race suicide by allowing their birth rate to drop below the rate necessary to populate the lands their forebears had won.[12] But he also cared deeply for the zoological and botanical heritage, and inviting George Bird Grinnell, a pioneer conservationist who had been publicizing the need for conservationist action through the medium of *Forest and Stream* magazine, to dinner to meet like-minded individuals, Roosevelt formed the highly respected Boone and Crockett Club, without the activities of whose members, such as Madison Grant and Gifford Pinchot, there undoubtedly would be no Yellowstone Park today. Nor would the early conservation laws which saved much wild life, trees, plants, and wildernesses from destruction have been enacted. Glacier National Park is another example of the treasures that exist largely due to the Boone and Crockett Club.

With Madison Grant serving as secretary and later as president, the Boone and Crockett Club was largely comprised of eugenicists and eugenics sympathizers. Renowned as one of the more active members of the eugenics movement, and especially for his efforts to preserve the "Old American" component of the American population, Grant worked just as ardently to preserve the natural heritage for

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[12] The term "race suicide" was invented by the noted sociologist and eugenicist Edward Alsworth Ross, author of *The Foundations of Sociology* (1905), before that discipline fell under the domination of antihereditarians, and president of the American Sociological Society between 1914 and 1915. Ross was an active eugenicist deeply concerned with population problems. In addition to serving on the Advisory Council of the American Eugenics Society for many years, he wrote two important books, *The Old World and the New* (1914) and *Standing Room Only!* (1927). The current data concerning the population trends currently taking place in the Third World underscore the perceptive foresight of this far-sighted work by Ross, whose interest in the well-being of future generations of mankind was paramount.

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future generations of Americans and should be remembered always with honor as one of the nation's greatest benefactors.

As to legislation, the members of the Club worked both inside the Club and outside to ensure the passage of federal and state laws that would protect certain species of animal and plant life, notably the giant redwoods, from extinction. Their fear was that the increasing population, combined with modern economic development, would eliminate the heritage nature had bequeathed to their generation, and that this could happen on a worldwide scale. As Madison Grant prophetically warned, in *Trail and Camp Fires* (1904), unless active steps were taken:

> [i]t may be confidently asserted that [man] ... will have destroyed most, if not all the large African fauna – certainly including the most beautiful antelopes in the world – and game in India and North America in a wild state will almost have ceased to exist.

Henry Fairfield Osborn, one of the leading exponents of eugenics, was prominent among those who worked strongly for passage of environmental legislation, and Henry Ford, who was likewise concerned about preserving both the quality of the population and the quality of the environment, assigned one of his staff to act as a full-time lobbyist to aid in the passage of a major conservation bill which was signed into law by President Taft on March 4, 1913.

The opening decades of the Twentieth Century were in many ways a credit to the flowering of American conservationist idealism. Led by patriotic and far-seeing descendants of the early European settlers of North America, and with the whole-hearted collaboration of noble-minded individuals among more recent European immigrants, there was a strong commitment to hand down a rich heritage to future generations of Americans. To have personally known any of these farsighted American leaders from the early part of this century is a privilege now denied to all except a few more elderly citizens. The names mentioned are but a few of the dedicated individuals who graced early twentieth century American society and who freely gave their resources to the effort to save for posterity all that was best of the plant, animal, and human wealth still plentiful in

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public duty, and although subsequent generations have not preserved the high level of genetic and environmental conservation to which they aspired something at least of their spirit still exists, and the overall logic behind their views has since been demonstrated to have been totally sound.

Biological Egalitarianism Infiltrates Academe

But just when it seemed that the Western nations of the world were rising to a new level of social consciousness and moral responsibility, World War I wrought political and genetic havoc upon the Western world. Striking Europe the most heavily, with Britain and France suffering genetic losses from which they never recovered, it also led to significant changes in America which were further accentuated by the ensuing Great Depression. The forces of revolutionary socialism, seducing significant segments of the public by painting a fanciful image of a distant egalitarian paradise, were the only beneficiaries of the disastrous maelstrom of genetic and economic destruction wrought by the war. Although eugenicists saw the war losses as additional evidence of the urgent need to preserve the drastically weakened heritage of beneficial genes, the public's confidence in the future was shattered by the Great Depression and the resultant struggle simply to survive. Popular concern, often little directed toward the distant future, was redirected even more strongly to the problems of the present day, and the revolutionary socialist creed of egalitarianism and anti-hierarchicalism steadily won control of the high ground that the eugenicists were unable to retain.

In some countries, as in Russia, the massive losses of World War I led to violent revolutionary victory for those who preached anti-hereditarian views: although this brought with it neither freedom nor equality for the common man, only a truly cruel form of dictatorial government that showed no interest in either environmental conservation or human genetic conservation. Even in Western Europe and North America, where there was no violent Marxist seizure of power, the forces of social revolution made egalitarianism their slogan. This steady slide from idealistic concern for the future to crude appeals to the material interests of the present generation was facilitated by the penetration of the academic world by advocates of social revolution, and the political influenceof the

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latter gained ground rapidly during an era troubled by economic depression.

Positive and Negative Eugenics

Changes also developed at this time within the eugenics movement which first seemed to strengthen the argument in favor of eugenic action, but eventually led to a major setback. Traces of this can be identified in the double-edged manner in which president Theodore Roosevelt had viewed the eugenics movement. Roosevelt strove mightily to persuade healthy Americans to have more children, and fussed against members of the eugenics movement whose advice, he feared, could discourage childbearing among otherwise healthy Americans. Genetic science was not then sufficiently advanced to enable the precise identification of deleterious genes, and Roosevelt and many other supporters of the eugenic ideal justifiably believed that the best route to take in the prevailing circumstances was to encourage the procreation of those stocks that seemed to be generally fit and creative.

Those were days, it must be remembered, when concern about the "yellow peril" was common. This was based on the evidence, already apparent but since then magnified many times, that while the white race was threatened by a decline in numbers and quality, the speed with which the population of Asia was increasing, and the attempts Asians were already making to migrate into North America, constituted a threat to the United States which then perceived itself as a white nation. G. Stanley Hall, president of Clark University, was among those who warned that the traditional character of America as a European-based nation was threatened by the uncontrolled immigraton of Asians – logically and prophetically commenting that "the future belongs to those people who bear the most and best children and bring them to maturity". In Britain the Whethams similarly warned against the immigration of genetically quite diverse peoples[13] and echoed the same theme: that the future belongs to the

[13] Interestingly, America and many other countries are today experiencing increasing illegal Chinese immigration, with some sources estimating thirty thousand *illegal* Chinese immigrants entering the U.S. every month. The British government recently promised to

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more prolific, and that, if the disparity in births continued, the world could one day fall to the Chinese.

Theodore Roosevelt's criticism of eugenicists who were ignoring the international numbers competition proved to be a forerunner to a division of interest which was to split the young eugenics movement within a few decades of its explosive origin. Roosevelt might be described as being what some have since called a "mainstream eugenicist." Mainstream eugenicists placed emphasis on positive eugenics, on encouraging the reproduction of healthy families chosen from among stock of proven historical capability. Being mostly of Northwest European origin themselves, the mainstream eugenicists saw eugenics as a national issue closely connected with the survival of their own national stock at a time when the birth rate of that stock was declining and the population of non-whites was beginning to increase rapidly.

But mainstream eugenics was doomed to wither. As genetic science continued its initially slow and halting advance, many geneticists became so enthralled with the hunt for biological illneses and defects that could be clearly identified as genetic in origin that they began to lose interest in mainstream eugenics – a goal which lent itself less readily to laboratory research. Geneticists began to seek out specific genetic diseases, and took less interest in encouraging creative families to increase or even maintain their birth rate, an activity which fell more realistically into the political arena. This search for inherited diseases was dubbed "reform" eugenics. Its goal could hardly be faulted; but as the memory of the massively dysgenic impact of World War I began to fade in the public mind, reform eugenics increasingly diverted attention away from the ideal of those who sought to preserve an adequate reserve of genetically healthy, creative stock. Unfortunately it would be many long years before scientists could even begin to foresee a day when it might be possible to effectively eliminate individual defects.

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accept an estimated one-third to one-half million Chinese from Hong Kong when that territory is surrendered to Mainland China. Mainland China, not counting the Chinese on Taiwan or those already settled in large numbers in other Oriental countries, is now on its way to attaining a population of one and a quarter billion, and could alone fill all the empty quarters of the world without the assistance of any other peoples!

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Thus the eugenics movement found itself increasingly divided at precisely the time when the eugenic ideal – the desire to free future generations of mankind from genetic handicaps and to provide posterity with an adequate heritage of genes for above average creativity – was coming under increasing attack from those who were ideologically committed to egalitarianism. The latter refused to see the eugenic ideal in any light other than as an hierarchical concept emphasizing superiority and inferiority – the precise pattern of thought they desired to eliminate from the social consciousness – and the foundations were laid for the highly emotional struggle which today dominates both academia and the media concerning the morality of research into behavioral genetics and the propagation of information about the role of heredity in shaping human behavioral potential.

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BOOK REVIEW ARTICLE

Race, Socioeconomic Variables, and Intelligence: A Review and Extension of *The Bell Curve*

Edward M. Miller
University of New Orleans

The Bell Curve
Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life
Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray
New York: The Free Press, 1944

The Bell Curve's major findings regarding the importance of intelligence for economic success and social success are summarized, as is its demonstration that racial differences in intelligence help explain the racial disparities in economic success and social pathologies. Its treatment of eugenics, the genetic basis for racial differences, and the evolution of racial differences is extended.

The Bell Curve has made waves – and it should. Yet most of its controversial findings were no surprise to the specialists in intelligence (for instance see Gottfredson 1986a, Gottfredson & Sharf, 1988, Hartigan & Wigdor, 1989, Jensen, 1981), even if they were to the media. However, most of the book is new research using the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (abbreviated NLSY), a large scale study stating in 1979 of 12,486 youths. These have been followed from high school, through college, and into early adulthood. Fortunately, intelligence data in the form of the Armed Forces Qualification Test was obtained for almost 94% these youths.

Although from the commentary in the media one might think *The Bell Curve* was a book about racial differences, most of it is actually a discussion of the importance of intelligence in non-Hispanic whites.

The book proceeds by first examining how variables such as income, poverty, crime, illegitimacy are affected by intelligence and

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socioeconomic status. The major finding is that intelligence is much more important than socioeconomic class for many of these variables. For instance, whites in the bottom 5% of intellectual ability are 15 times more likely to be in poverty than those in the top 5%. Intelligence was more important than the socioeconomic class of their families (a combination of parent's education, occupation, and income). With both intelligence and socioeconomic class in the equation, intelligence was more important.

A major surprise was how often socioeconomic class seemed to be serving as a surrogate for intelligence. It had been known from previous studies that those born into poverty did worse as adults than those born into good families. Most of these studies lacked a measure of intelligence, preventing most economists and sociologists from realizing the extent to which class of birth was acting as a surrogate for intelligence.

Similar findings were found for schooling. Intelligence was much more important in determining who dropped out of high school, or who completed college, than being born into a high status family.

Racial Differences in Intelligence;

The really explosive part of the book is the discussion of race. This book openly discusses the intellectual differences between the races. After pointing out that East Asians (Chinese, Japanese) appear to be slightly more intelligent than whites, it moves on to the black-white differences. The blacks test about one standard deviation below the Whites, which for the non-statistically trained implies that the average White is superior to 84% of the Blacks, although about 16% of the blacks do better than the average white.

Some very striking graphs (p. 279) show the data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth. One graph shows the distribution of intelligence in the white and black parts of the U.S. population with the vertical axes equal. Another makes the vertical axes proportion to the number of individuals in each group. What is striking is how the number of blacks on the graph with IQ's over 120 is scarcely visible, while there are actually more black Americans with IQ's below 80 than there are whites.

This tendency for the racial disparities to become more

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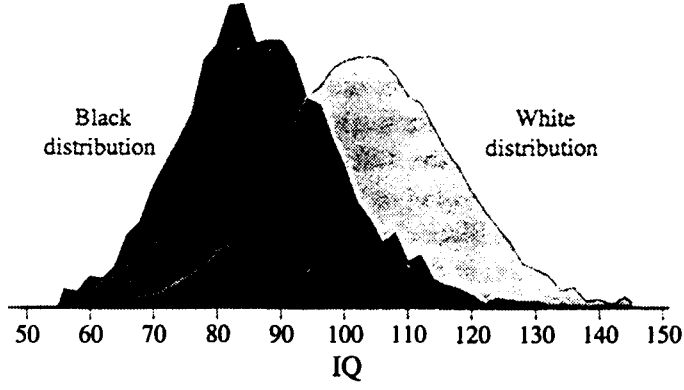
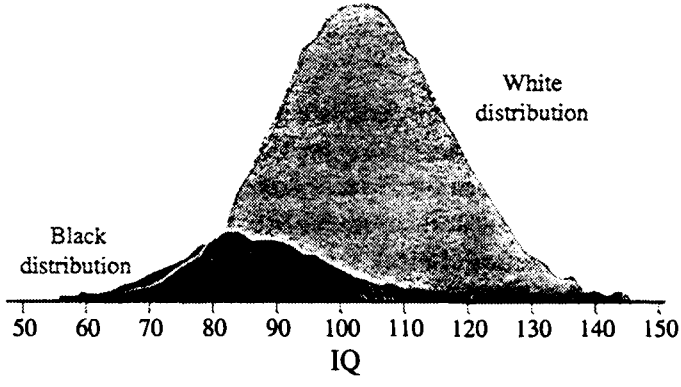
The black and white IQ distributions in the NLSY, Version I

Frequency distributions for populations of equal size



The black and white IQ distributions in the NLSY, Version II

Frequency distributions proportional to the
ethnic composition of the U.S. population



Graphs from page 279 of *The Bell Curve* (Courtesy of The Free Press), based on data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (1980).

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pronounced at a distribution's extremes is well known to the specialists, but has seldom been discussed in the media presentations to the public. It is a mathematical result of the distribution of abilities in both groups being described by bell (normal) curves whose means differ. This property of normal curves is extremely important in understanding why so few blacks will be in the professions or in graduate schools without aggressive affirmative action, and why blacks are over represented in classes for the retarded. The category of what the book calls the very dull (those with IQ's below 75) account for 25% of the blacks, but only 5% of the whites. Many of the country's social problems in both races are concentrated in this group.

Are the tests biased against blacks? In spite of the impression left in popular discussions, the experts have concluded that they are not. One reason is that the racial differences on the parts of tests that seem most culturally based (general knowledge, for instance) are actually smaller than on the more abstract problem solving parts. The tests predict school and job performance equally well for both races, although the media appears to believe otherwise. The Herrnstein & Murray discussion draws heavily on Jensen (1980).

Intelligence and Other Social Problems;

Is part of the difference in intelligence related to socioeconomic status? Yes. *The Bell Curve* concludes that 37% of the difference between the races is statistically related to socioeconomic differences. Of course, this does not mean that these socioeconomic differences are causing the intelligence disparities. Instead, those of low intelligence end up with low socioeconomic status. The genes for low intelligence, along with environmental disadvantages, are then passed on to their children. A major reason many blacks are poor is that their low intelligence which makes it hard for them to finish high school or college, or to obtain and hold high paying jobs.

Is there discrimination against blacks? It is well known that blacks earn less than whites and get less schooling. However, most studies showing this fail to control for IQ differences. The data in *The Bell Curve* shows the importance of controlling for intelligence. A white of the study's average age (29 years) would earn $27,372. A black of that age would earn only $20,994. However, a white person

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of average age and average IQ (100) would earn $25,546, while a black of the same age and intelligence would earn $25,001. However, more working blacks than whites are females. Thus, gender should be controlled for. Once this is done the average black is found to earn 101% of what a white would earn. The vast bulk of the black/white wage difference appears to be due to the intelligence difference, not to discrimination. There appears to be very little scientific basis for blaming discrimination for most of the lower wages blacks receive.

What about poverty? For those 29 years old, the equations show that only 7% of the whites in the study versus 26% blacks would be in poverty. For those of average age and intelligence, the figures shrink to 6% for whites and 11% for blacks. The black poverty problem seems primarily, but not completely, related to lower intelligence.

We hear a lot about black difficulties in getting into and finishing college. Supposedly discrimination is preventing blacks from getting through college as easily as white do. The Bell Curve shows that 27% of whites of average age (29) have finished college, while only 11% of the blacks have done so. However, for a person of the same age and the average IQ for college graduate (114), 50% of the whites have finished college, but 68% of the blacks have. Of two people with same IQ in high school, the black is more likely to finish college than the white. If there is any discrimination, it appears to be against whites, not blacks. Incidentally, an implication of this is that the typical black college graduate will be of lower intelligence, and know less, than the typical white graduate. This observation may be of use to those responsible for hiring, or for setting policy related to hiring.

The Bell Curve (p. 493) provides data on pass rates for teacher competency exams (which blacks consistently fail at greater rates than whites) that suggest that the black college graduates do indeed know less than white ones. For other fields, data from their sample (p. 488) shows that there are indeed black-white differences in intelligence and that these range from 1.1 standard deviations (managerial jobs, clerical, craft, and low-skill labor) up to 1.5 standard deviations (technical occupations) in all of the categories listed.

What about entering the high IQ occupations (such as lawyers, doctors, scientists, college professors, etc.)? There is constant

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publicity about black under-representation in such jobs. Blacks are indeed under-represented. Only 3% of them at age 29 had made it into these professions, while 5% of the whites had. However, for those of the average IQ for these professions (117), 10% of the whites had made it versus 26% of the blacks. For two individuals with the same ability, the black appeared 2 1/2 times as likely as the white to make it into these professions. The black under-representation appears to be more than explained by their lower IQ's. Affirmative action is the obvious explanation for the large advantage of blacks over whites with the same IQ in getting into these occupations.

Affirmative Action

The later chapter on higher education makes clear the advantage affirmative action gives blacks. The data assembled shows that at the elite campus, the average black is in the bottom 10th to 15th percentile in abilities (a result of a 180 point difference in the SAT test scores).

The difference appears to be even greater in graduate schools. For all law schools, the average black first year student would be better than only 7% of the white first year students. For ten highly selective law schools, the average black would be at the ability level of the bottom 1% of the whites. The problem is the very few blacks with extremely high ability. In 1993, there were 1100 whites with scores on the Law School Aptitude Test of better than 170, but only 3 blacks. The only way to get large numbers of blacks into the elite law schools was to greatly lower admission standards.

The situation is similar for other graduate schools and for medical schools. The average entering black in medical school is at the level of the bottom 8 to 10% of the whites on the Medical College Admission Test (p. 457). "In none of the three subtests did more than 19 blacks score in the 12 to 15 range (on a scale that goes from 1 to 15), compared to 1,146, 1469, and 853 whites (for the biological sciences, physical sciences, and verbal reasoning tests, respectively)." While this very strong black preference clearly benefits the few high ability blacks who receive well paying medical jobs, it is clearly not in the interest of whites, and probably harms most blacks. Blacks are disproportionately treated by black doctors (Jaynes &

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Williams, 1989), and the lower intellectual ability of the blacks entering medical school by affirmative action probably results in poorer medical care for the typical black.

The book does not devote a lot of space to the policy implications. Contrary to the impression left by the press, most of the policy discussion is not directed at race related policy. The authors express concern about the increasing division of the country into a cognitive elite and others. A striking chart (p. 516) shows that about 1970 the growth of median family income for Americans slowed, while the percentage of families with incomes over $100,000 continued. Economic growth is benefiting less those whose intellectual abilities limit them to unskilled occupations. While the book doesn't go into great detail on reasons for this, it has become easier to mechanize the most mechanical tasks (which creates a demand for those smart enough to maintain the machines, while reducing the number of operators and laborers the economy requires). Also, as the world economy becomes increasingly integrated, many unskilled jobs can be easily moved to third world countries where wages for low skilled labor are low.

It is argued that there is an increasing division of America (and presumably other countries) into the mass of ordinary citizens and a cognitive elite, which is typically now university educated and often descended from those who are university educated. The policy makers, may not realize how limited in cognitive ability (and knowledge) the masses are. Policy makers are virtually always from the cognitive elite, even if they claim to be representing the working classes. A casual inspection of tax forms or government regulations shows they are hard to understand even for those in the cognitive elite, and almost impossible to understand for most others.

One chapter (Chapter 16) discusses the prevalence of low cognitive ability in Americans suffering from different problems, showing how frequently they are of disproportionately low cognitive ability. This fact needs to be taken into account in designing programs.

As the authors put it (p. 387):

> Do we wish to persuade poor single teenagers not to have babies? The knowledge that 95% of poor teenage women who have

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babies are also below average in intelligence should prompt skepticism about strategies that rely on abstract and far-sighted calculations of self-interest. Do we favor job training programs for chronically unemployed men? Any program is going to fail unless it is designed for a target population half of which has IQs below 80.

The concluding chapter discusses in a philosophical manner the problem of building a society where those of average and below average ability can find a useful role. Even for those whose cognitive limitations prevent them from achieving high socioeconomic status, supporting and rearing a family, and being law abiding and productive citizens in the local community appear possible routes to self esteem.

The Dysgenic Trend

The book contains a chapter on the dysgenic trend by which those of low IQ are having more offspring than those of high IQ. After summarizing the literature as (p. 341), "The professional consensus is that the United States has experienced dysgenic pressures throughout either most of the century (the optimists) or all of the century (the pessimists)," the discussion turns to data for the 90's. Current Population Survey data is used to show that the average number of children ever born to US women ages 35-44 in 1992 was 71% greater for high school dropouts than for college graduates. The new research reported using the NLSY shows that the average IQ of the mothers in the sample was less than 96. However, because many of the higher IQ women have not yet completed their childbearing, it is estimated that the overall IQ of American mothers was a little less than 98. This implies that a slow generation to generation decline in US IQ is to be expected.

A point not made in *The Bell Curve* is that the tendency for the high IQ to have fewer children appears more pronounced among women than among men. This is primarily because childbearing interferes more with schooling and careers among women than among men. Also, the higher status of high IQ men probably helps them get younger more fertile wives if they remarry, and helps them get more extramarital mating opportunities. Since children inherit genes from both parents, the dysgenic effect is a little weaker when

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both parents are considered.

There is an additional factor that is often neglected. The high IQ have their children later than the low IQ (partially because most women defer childbearing until their education is completed, and high IQ women seek higher level of education). The data from the NLSY shows that women in the top 5% for IQ have their first child at an average age of 27.2 years, while those in the bottom 5% have their first child at an average age of 19.8 years (p. 352). The difference is less for the average over all births, but it appears that those in the bottom 5% will complete 5 generations for every four generations completed by those in the top 5%.

The discussion of differences in birthrates by ethnicity shows that the ethnic differences are much reduced when women of the same levels of education are compared (p. 353), with fertility declining in all three ethnic groups with education. A surprising finding is that after "assigning IQ equivalents based on the relationship of educational attainment and cognitive ability in the NLSY, it appears that after equating for IQ, black women at a given IQ level may have lower fertility rates than either white or Latino women" (p. 353). A footnote suggests that the fertility depressing effect of high IQ is due to the educational and career effects that accompany it, and suggests the lower black fertility may be because at any IQ level blacks are more likely to be in school.

A fascinating table (p. 354) shows the percentage of births to mothers of different ethnic groups among those in the NLSY (whose members have yet to complete their childbearing). Among whites 19% of the birth were to mothers with IQ's below 90, and 22% with IQ's above 110. However, for blacks 69% of the births were to mothers with IQ's below 90, and only 2% to mothers with IQ's above 110. This suggests that the racial differences will increase over time. Incidentally, for Latinos the figures were 64% and 2%.

The NLSY also includes test results for the offspring of the original sample. This makes it possible to compare the IQ gap between the racial groups in parents with the gap in children. Between white and black mothers the gap was 13.2 IQ points. However, among children of these parents, the IQ gap was 17.5 points, with a major cause plausibly being that the low IQ mothers among the blacks were having relatively more children. It appears

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likely that the racial IQ difference is increasing rather than decreasing in America.

Eugenics

A few very controversial topics that the book might have discussed are not discussed. An obvious policy proposal is eugenics. If a child's intelligence and life chances are heavily influenced by intelligence, and intelligence is partially dependent on the genes, it would seem desirable to have a high percentage of children borne with genes for high intelligence. How this might be accomplished is another question.

If the benefits to children of good genes were publicized, some people might consider a potential spouses genes before marriage. While in American culture, the problem of choosing a spouse appears to be most often conceptualized as choosing a companion for life (with the choice presumably based on the spouse's entertainment value, or on the ability to provide financial and emotional support), in some other places (and to some extent in America) it is conceptualized as "choosing a mother or father for my children". With the latter conceptualization, those aware of the importance of genetic heritage may give it weight in selecting mates.

In general, if males and females are looking for high IQ mates (which they appear to do even if they aren't aware of the inheritance of intelligence), the major effect is to increase the probability that high IQ males and females mate with others of similar IQ, and those of low IQ mate with each other. Because most genes that affect intelligence appear to act additively, such an increase in associative mating for IQ should not raise the average IQ of the population. However, it should increase the variance of IQ, leaving the population with more high IQ individuals and more low IQ ones. This may be desirable. Most the inventions, discoveries, and cultural creations come from the cognitive elite. Likewise, they occupy most of the leadership positions (even when they act in the name of the working class or union members). Raising the ability of the cognitive elite could easily bring benefits that exceed the offsetting decline in the ability of the working classes and the underclass.

However, there is one mechanism by which increased emphasis

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on intelligence in selecting mates might raise the intelligence of a society. A young women might trade off acceptance of an older mate and the greater risk of a longer period of widowhood for better genes for her children. Such behavior should actually raise the IQ of the populations. Decisions of this type might result from publicizing the data in *The Bell Curve*. However, intelligence is a trait that is highly valued in a mate in most cultures (see the surveys discussed in Buss, 1994) so an awareness of its importance and partially genetic transmission, may not greatly change behavior.

Other eugenic measures are more controversial. A simple measure would be to use only sperm from highly intelligent males in artificial insemination programs. Currently they appear to be typically screened for most genetic diseases (as well as for AIDS), but typically not for intelligence (Seligson, 1995). Supposedly, there is a current bias towards intelligence in donors because many of the donors are medical or other students, but the typical procedure does not guarantee this.

Yet the cost of giving intelligence tests would be relatively low. If some donors were to be rejected because of low intelligence, it might be desirable to enlarge the pool of potential donors, but that could be done by increasing the fees paid, or possibly by a public campaign to persuade high quality donors to provide sperm as a public service. The genetic quality of the sperm used could be raised by relaxing other less desirable constraints such as restrictions on the number of children that can be fathered from a single donor, or by relaxing efforts to choose donors with particular hair, eye, or skin color. Certainly, if parents are willing to pay many tens of thousands to get their children into and through Ivy League colleges, potential parents should be willing to pay a few dollars more for quality sperm. If well-heeled parents seek the best designer jeans for their offspring, why shouldn't they seek the best genes?

In spite of the apparently very high benefit-cost of ratio from selecting sperm on the basis of the donor's intelligence, an Italian doctors group has decided "There should be no selection of sperm based on the social, economic or professional standing of the donor" (Montalbano, 1995), all cheaply ascertained surrogates for intelligence, and other genetic traits that contribute to obtaining these types of status.

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A lot of proposed public policies appear to have eugenic implications, which are typically not even discussed. Should conjugal visits be permitted in prisons? In the Bell Curve study (p. 376), 62% of the men ever interviewed in jail or prison came from the bottom 20% in intelligence. The offspring resulting from conjugal visits to these men are likely to be of below normal intelligence (as well as having inherited what ever other genes contribute to a criminal career).

The textbook reasons for imprisonment are deterrence, and keeping the criminal off the streets so he can't commit another crime. An undiscussed benefit is preventing the criminal from reproducing for several years. Feminists occasionally propose castration as a punishment (usually for rape). This measure would appear to have positive eugenic effects on intelligence, and on any other genes that contribute to rape.

Should Lesbians or single women become mothers by artificial insemination? If the sperm used is of high quality, it is very likely that the offspring will be of high intelligence, and unlikely that they will become public burdens. Should post-menopausal women have babies using advanced technology and their husbands sperm, as a 62 year old women recently did in Italy (Montalbano, 1995)? Given the high cost of such technologies, it is very likely that their husbands had genes for high intelligence. Yet this measure was to be banned by the new Italian doctor's code, as was artificial insemination after the death of a partner.

How should population growth be slowed? Typical proposals involve each family having fewer children, but with all being subject to the same limits. The possibility of disproportionately discouraging reproduction by the less intelligent appears to have been seldom discussed by those concerned with over population.

The Bell Curve does contain some data (p. 379) that points to an eugenic effect for any program that successfully reduces illegitimacy. Of the illegitimate children in the NLSY sample a third were born to children in the bottom 10% of the IQ sample, and 85% were born to women in the bottom half of the cognitive distribution. Of the children born to poor, single, teenage girls, 64% were born to women in the bottom 20% of the cognitive ability distribution, and

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95% to women in the bottom half.

Anything that successfully reduced the number of children born to single, poor, unmarried women would serve to increase the nation's IQ level, and to reduce the incidence of the social problems that are most common among the children of such mothers. While the data in the Bell Curve implies it would be desirable to reduce births of such children, it does not specifically propose measures to do so. The closest it comes is to suggest that the welfare system enables poor, low IQ women to have children who would not otherwise do so.

Perhaps the most practical eugenic measure that is even close to politically feasible would be to offer welfare to unwed mothers only if they agree to having a Norplant contraceptive device (which would prevent pregnancy for several years) inserted, or to use of the new three month contraceptive injections. This would somewhat reduce the birth rate among the low IQ, and appears more humane than simply refusing assistance to unmarried teenagers, as has been proposed by the Republicans in the US Congress. Incidentally, sex education classes do not appear to reduce illegitimacy rates.

Implications for Anthropology

The Bell Curve is basically a book about America, drawing on data to show how differences in intelligence affect its citizens. There is only a brief discussing of the IQ's of various races when tested outside of the United States. However, its conclusions should readily extend to other industrialized countries where most citizens are offered the opportunity for schooling, and the brighter one can be educated at taxpayer expense through the university level. Indeed, in some countries the economic obstacles to education are even smaller than in the US, and one would expect access to the universities and professions to depend even more on intellectual ability (and the genes that determine it) than in the US.

However, in many third world countries the sorting by cognitive ability is less effective. *The Bell Curve* suggests that low intelligence is the most likely reason to "Why Johnny can't read" in the US (where virtually all children have been given the opportunity to learn how). However, in many countries the most likely reason is still that he did not go to school. Genetic heritage will be less important in

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such countries, and the environment factor of access to schooling more important.

The material showing that a large part of racial differences in income and in various social variables is explained by the lower IQ of blacks may be relevant to other countries that have a black minority.

Intelligence, the genetics of intelligence, and racial differences in intelligence are not well covered in anthropology textbooks. In many circles they are not considered suitable topics for discussion. Textbooks either ignore them or present what in America is called the "politically correct" view, without mentioning that any other views are widely held by respectable scholars, or even providing references to the scientific literature. The Bell Curve does provide a short discussion of these topics along with references to the primary scientific literature. The discussion is far superior to what can be found in any anthropology textbook I am aware of. However, as discussed below, the literature review is already dated.

Genes and Racial Differences

The Bell Curve presents the evidence that a large proportion of the variability in intelligence in America is genetic (pp. 105-108). Is part of the racial difference genetic? The book summarizes well the evidence (pp. 295-311) that was available to the authors when it was being written. The authors conclude (p. 311), "It seems highly likely to us that both genes and the environment have something to do with racial differences. What might the mix be? We are resolutely agnostic on that issue; as far as we can determine, the evidence does not yet justify an estimate." This mild statement was upsetting to many in the US media, although an earlier survey sent to 1020 experts (Snyderman and Rothman, 1988) showed that there were three times as many who thought it was both genetic and environmental, as thought it was solely environmental.

There has been considerable press discussion of racial differences in intelligence following the publication of *The Bell Curve* (for a review of this discussion see Murphy, 1995). What the press was not aware of is that *The Bell Curve* is not the latest scientific work on racial differences. Since it went to press, several new papers have been published which greatly strengthen the case for racial IQ

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differences being at least partially genetic.

Another recent development is new adoption data. As background, the theoretically best way to discover if black/white differences are due to something they were born with (presumably genetic) is to rear them in the same families (or at least families randomly chosen) and see how they turn out.

Scarr & Weinberg (1976) had earlier reported the results of a study at age 7 of black children adopted into middle class white families, which they interpreted as not supporting genetic differences. In particular, their finding that black children raised in white families had childhood IQ's of 106 was widely interpreted (correctly) as evidence that childhood intelligence could be affected by the environment (for instance, Tucker, 1994, p. 230). However, since a purely environmental theory would suggest that racial origin (between those with two black biological parents and those with one black and one white biological parent) would make no difference for children raised in the same families, and there was a difference, the study also provided evidence for a genetic difference between the races.

Recently, the results of a follow-up of the children when they were about seventeen appeared. The published report (Weinberg, Scarr, Waldman, 1992) primarily discussed the IQ change between the first and second testing (even though the use of different tests complicated comparison), rather than the absolute values of the IQs (although these were given in the paper). The authors interpreted their results in terms of demonstrating the power of the environment.

Two recently published comments point out how her results provide evidence for genetic differences between the races. One is by Levin (1994). With good reason, he points out how their results are just as would be expected if most racial differences in IQ were genetic.

Lynn (1994), a member of this journal's editorial board, points out that when black and white children are reared in matched social environments (educated white families) they have an IQ difference of 17 points. This slightly exceeds the 15 points observed when each are in their own environments. This is very close to a controlled experiment, and suggests that altering environments after infancy does nothing to reduce the racial IQ differences. The IQ of the mixed race children is 98, halfway between that of the study's whites and

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blacks. As he points out, this is as predicted by genetic theory, but is hard to explain environmentally, since both mixed race and black adopted children are socially classified as black. He gives other powerful arguments I find convincing.

In their reply (Waldman, Weinberg & Scarr, 1994), the authors of the study appear to disagree, claiming "results from the Minnesota Transracial Adoption Study provide little or no conclusive evidence for genetic influences underlying racial differences in intelligence and achievement." They give their reasons, of which the strongest is that the children were not perfectly matched on early childhood experience, since the whites were adopted at an earlier age (probably because they had been easier to place), and also pointing out that an inherited characteristic, skin color, might have led to different treatment of the children even in liberal Minnesota.

However, there is support for the genetic explanation in their article. Notice they are denying "conclusive evidence" from their study. They do not deny it is strong evidence. They readily concede there are IQ differences between white and black adoptees (and make no argument about biased tests). They later say "We think it is inherently implausible that these differences are either entirely genetically based or entirely environmental based." (p. 31). The reader, not being familiar with the role Sandra Scarr has played in the controversy about racial differences in IQ may not realize the significance of this sentence. She has been a leading opponent of the idea of genetic differences. She is now saying that it is highly implausible that the differences are entirely environmental. This is news.

It contrasts strongly with the impression most of the media has that no respectable scientist believes there are genetic differences, and that all the experts believe the differences are entirely due to environmental causes. The leading opponent among professional behavior geneticists now believe "We think it is inherently implausible that these differences are . . . entirely environmental based."

There have been some interesting findings reported regarding head size and intelligence recently. Rushton & Osborne (1995) have reported on a study of black and white twins showing smaller head size in black twins than in white twins in a sample where the blacks

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have lower IQs. His analysis shows a high heritability for head size (and presumably brain size) in whites, although for an unknown reason the heritability is lower (but still appreciable) in blacks.

Jensen (1994) shows that the tests that measure intelligence best are those most sensitive to head size differences, and that the tests that are most sensitive to head size show the largest black/white differences.

Jensen and Johnson (1994) of the University of California at Berkeley studied head size and intelligence in black and white children, males and females, using the very large data base from the National Collaborative Perinatal Study. Its importance is not merely in showing that brain size and intelligence co-vary. (This has been shown in several recent studies using MRI measurements of brain size), or that there are racial differences in head and brain size (this has been shown by autopsy data). Comparing siblings, Jensen showed that the large-headed tended to be the more intelligent in black males, black females, white males, and white females. This result indicates that there is something biological (almost certainly genetic) that affects both brain size and intelligence. (Miller, 1994a, argued that this biological factor affecting both intelligence and brain size could be the thickness of layers of myelin). By showing that much of the racial difference in IQ disappears when children of the same head size are compared, Jensen and Johnson provide strong evidence that whatever is causing the racial head size differences is also causing at least part of the racial differences in intelligence. In turn, it is known that the racial differences in intelligence are closely related to the racial differences in school performance, which are known to be related to the differences in poverty (see *The Bell Curve*). This is a very exciting lead for those concerned with the causes of poor school performance and poverty in blacks.

The Jensen and Johnson's finding that one gene or set of genes seems to affect both head size and intelligence could help explain an intriguing finding reported in *The Bell Curve*. This is that 45% of low-birth weight babies had mothers in the bottom 20% of intelligence (p. 381). One possible explanation is that low intelligence mothers adopted behavior patterns that led to low birth weight babies. However, there is another possibility that *The Bell Curve* does not discuss. It now appears that brain size and IQ are correlated from

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MRI studies (Andreason, et al. 1993; Schultz, 1991; Wickett, Vernon, & Lee, 1994; Willerman, Schultz, Rutledge, and Bigler, 1991), and that head size at birth correlates with childhood intelligence (Broman, Nichols, Shaughnessy, Kennedy, 1987). The latter effect is probably because small-headed babies are small brained. The brain at birth uses a large percentage of the body's metabolic energy. This would imply that a larger brain would have to be supported by larger lungs, heart, and digestive system. It is plausible that the genes for high adult IQ produce at least part of their effect by affecting brain size at birth (or something correlated with brain size). Since half of a baby's genes come from the mother, the existence of genes that affect both intelligence and birth weight would produce a concentration of low-birth-weight babies among the offspring of low IQ mothers, as *The Bell Curve* reports. It would be interesting to do a sibling analysis similar to that done by Jensen and Johnson of the birth weights and later intelligence to see if the higher birth weight siblings typically were smarter.

The Evolutionary Origins of Racial Differences in Intelligence

Not surprisingly, in a book that does not take a position on the extent to which racial differences are genetic, there is no discussion of how such differences could have arisen. That there could be differences in behaviorally relevant gene frequencies should be no surprise. Recently, a massive compilation of data on the world wide distribution of gene frequencies has become available (Cavalli-Sforza, Menozzi, & Piazza, 1994). As a review in this journal pointed out (Miller, 1994c) there is no polymorphic gene known in humans whose frequency does not vary among populations. This observation makes it very likely that when and if specific genes are identified that affect intelligence, that the frequency of the alleles that contribute to high intelligence will be found to differ between populations.

Recently, the APOE*4 allele has been shown to be a significant risk factor for Alzheimer's disease, which adversely affects intelligence. In one study the risk increased from 20% with no copy of the APOE*4 allele to 47% and 91% with one and two copies of the APOE*4 allele respectively (Corder, Saunders, Strittmatter, Schmechel, Gaskell, Small, Roses, Haines, Pericak-Vance, 1993).

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"Although only 14% of Asians and 25% of whites carry the APOE*4 allele, almost 50% of Africans, Polynesians, Melanesians, and Australian Aborigines do." (Kamboh, 1995, p. 203). This provides a documented case of racial differences in the frequency of a gene relevant to intelligence, although admittedly the effect occurs through susceptibility to a disease.

Recently progress has been made towards identifying other genes that affect intelligence (Plomin et al, 1994), with there being evidence for two intelligence related genetic markers in published work, and there being evidence for others in unpublished work. Most likely the alleles of these genes will be found to differ in frequency in racial groups.

The question of how evolution could produce genetic differences in intelligence between races could arise has recently been the subject of discussion. Rushton (1995) has proposed a theory to explain racial differences in a large number of traits. He argues that Negroids are more r selected than Caucasoids, who in turn are more r selected than Mongoloids. In turn, he argues a less predictable environment selects for r traits, and that such an environment existed in sub-Saharan Africa during the period in which racial differences evolved. In biology, r selected organisms have more offspring and invest less in them than K selected ones. He argues intelligence is a K trait. His argument and data has been summarized in a book review article in this journal (Taylor, 1994). Miller (1993, 1995) has presented arguments against this view to which Rushton and Ankney (1993) have replied.

Miller (1994b) has provided an alternative theory to explain most of the facts explained by Rushton's differential K theory. Miller points out that in the tropics during hunter-gatherer times, females were able to support themselves and their offspring year round. The males who left the most descendants would have been those that adopted a "love them and leave them" strategy with relatively weak pair bonds and males devoted more of their efforts to obtaining mating opportunities. Obtaining sexual access would often require fighting other males.

In contrast, in colder climates, the problem is to get through the winter, which is normally done by some combination of food storage and hunting. Large game hunting could not be efficiently done by

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females carrying babies, or by pregnant females. Thus females were dependent on male provisioning. The males who left the most descendants were those who formed strong pair bonds and provisioned their mates loyally. Provisioning selected for a somewhat different set of traits than a high mating effort environment did.

Intelligence and the Differing Importance of Paternal Investment

Recently, Miller (in press) has extended his differential paternal investment theory to explain differences in intelligence in different parts of the world. Sociobiologists (Symons, 1979; Hrdy, 1981) have argued that resources provided by men are important to female reproductive success, and that women select mates partially on the basis of the male's ability and willingness to provide such resources. This induces men to try to persuade women that they have such resources and will provide them to the woman and her children.

Buss (1994) emphasizes how often in human mating deception is used. For instance, men try to convince women that they have, or will have resources, and will devote them to the well-being of the woman and her children (and not squander their resources on other women and their children), while women try to convince men of their sexual loyalty (while possibly seeking better genes from other men).

Buss states (p. 155) "Because the deceived can suffer tremendous losses, there must have been great selection pressures for the evolution of a form of psychological vigilance to detect cues to deception and to prevent its occurrence. The modern generation is merely one more cycle in the endless spiral of an evolutionary arms race between deception perpetuated by one sex and detection accomplished by the other. As the deceptive tactics get more subtle, the ability to penetrate deception become more refined." With northern women more dependent on male provisioning than tropical women, selection would have been stronger in the cold areas for the intelligence needed to recognize deception.

Men can also be deceived. They can waste many resources if they raise another man's child. Women try to deceive men as to their loyalty. The more dependent a man's reproductive success is on accurately directing his provisioning to his own biological offspring

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and to those females who have or will bear their children, the stronger the selection for male intelligence. In the northern climates, where provisioning directly impacts their children's survival, selection for intelligence will be greatest.

Differences in the importance of paternal investment may even explain the pattern of racial abilities. Detecting deception in a mate calls for reasoning, which would show up in high intelligence. Merely impressing potential sex partners with conversation and song would call for high verbal skills, memory, and verbal fluency. This does resemble the observed pattern of racial differences (Jensen & Reynolds, 1982; Jensen, 1985).

The only alternative to hunting for surviving the winter is food storage, which can be shown to be more common in cold climates. Successfully storing food calls for the ability to defer gratification, the ability to imagine winter conditions when times are warm, and simple quantitative skills to manage the accumulation and consumption of stores. Thus, the need for storage should select for intelligence (Miller 1991). Storage also leads to a settled lifestyle which leads to the use of more artifacts

Lynn (1991b) has tried to explain the racial differences intelligence, which he had earlier described (Lynn 1991a), by the greater need for hunting in cold climates, and the greater intellectual demands of hunting.

Further research will be needed to pin down the exact role of the different selective forces that could have produced racial differences in intelligence. There is now strong evidence that such differences exist, and there is no shortage of mechanisms that could explain their existence.

Conclusions

The Bell Curve shows that intelligence is an important determinant of many socioeconomic variables. Many effects that sociologists have attributed to social class appear to be really due to intelligence.

Races differ in intelligence. Many racial disparities shrink or disappear when intelligence is controlled for. In particular, discrimination is not needed to explain low black income or occupational status.

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Since *The Bell Curve* was written additional evidence has appeared that the racial difference in intelligence is primarily genetic. These come from adoption studies and from studies of the relationship between head size and IQ. Plausible hypothesizes exist for how such a difference emerged. On possibility is that selection for intelligence was strongest where paternal provisioning was most important.

The Bell Curve is an important book that should be read by those interested in the role of intelligence in modern societies, or in the causes of racial inequality.

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J. P. Mallory
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